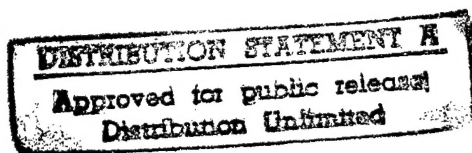


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19 AUGUST 1986



# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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19 AUGUST 1986

CHINA REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

INTERVIEW WITH PUBLIC SECURITY MINISTER RUAN CHONGWU

Hong Kong LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK] Overseas Edition in Chinese No 18, 5 May 86 pp 6-7

[Interview with Ruan Chongwu [7086 1504 2976], minister of public security, by staff reporters Lin Hai [2651 3189] and Yun Shan [7189 2619]; date and place not specified]

[Text] To find out about China's public security conditions, we paid a visit to Ruan Chongwu, minister of public security, a few days ago.

Ruan Chongwu, 53, was appointed minister of public security last year. He had served as scientific and technological counsellor of the Chinese Embassy in the Federal Republic of Germany, deputy secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee and vice mayor of Shanghai. He likes sports activities, particularly basketball and swimming. However, his present duties keep him more busy than before, and he has not much leisure time to enjoy his hobbies.

New Problems in Public Security.

Ruan Chongwu first gave an appraisal of the current public security situation in China. He said that the situation can be summarized in three sentences: There are indeed marked improvements; there are also quite a number of new problems; but conditions exist for further stabilization and improvement.

Facts show that social order has improved markedly. Since we began in August 1983 to crack down on serious criminal activities, we have punctured the arrogance of the serious criminal offenders and greatly reduced the harassing and destructive activities of hoodlum gangs. Social order has improved noticeably, and the people have a much stronger sense of security. This year's spring and lantern festivals were celebrated with greater fanfare than ever before, and yet we were able to maintain good order and security throughout the country. The crime rate was .0005 percent plus in China in 1985, one of the lowest in the world.

Moreover, more and more people are joining the fight against crime, and this is another encouraging phenomenon in China's public security situation.

Ruan Chongwu pointed out that the improvement in social order is still uneven on a national scale. The economic reforms and open-door policy have effectively accelerated China's socialist modernization. But owing to various factors, both domestic and foreign, some negative influences have also been brought in, causing new problems to public security. For example, abominable phenomena that have been eliminated since the founding of New China are beginning to surface; economic crimes are on the rise, and cases of fraud and larceny have increased sharply, accounting for 70-80 percent of all criminal cases; economic and civil disputes have increased, and incidents in which a large number of people were gathered to make trouble have occurred in some places; and more criminals are moving from one place to another to commit new crimes. Moreover, the management of increasingly heavy urban traffic and massive movements of people, money and goods have also brought new tasks for the public security organs. These new circumstances and problems have made the situation more complicated than ever before for public security work.

At this point, Ruan Chongwu said confidently that even though public security work is faced with problems of one kind or another, there are still many favorable conditions for achieving steady improvement in social order. At present, the political and economic situation is very good throughout the country, and the development of the spiritual civilization and the gradual improvement of the party style will certainly help bring about increasingly sound social conduct as a whole. In addition, our socialist democracy and legal system are being further strengthened; the work to popularize legal knowledge is in full swing; and in the struggle against serious crimes in the past few years, the public security and judicial departments have generally improved their work standard and accumulated a lot of new experiences in maintaining social order under the new situation. Therefore, although the public security departments are faced with difficult tasks and many problems, they are full of confidence to do a good job in the days to come.

He told us that the major tasks of public security work in 1986, set by the recently held national meeting of public security department and bureau chiefs, are: to continue to strike hard at serious criminal activities including those in the economic field, actively participate in the coordinated effort to maintain social order, further strengthen basic work at the grassroots level and other operations, tighten security control and strive for steady improvement of social order in cities with a population of 300,000 or more and normalization of social order in all urban and rural areas step by step. Ruan Chongwu said that in

security management today, it is necessary particularly to strengthen the control of the floating population and do a good job in helping and educating the young people who have committed minor crimes. He called on the localities to implement various forms of security responsibility systems and joint security measures to form a tight preventive network.

#### Attention to Public Security in Coastal Areas

When the reporters inquired about the public security situation in China's coastal areas, Ruan Chongwu said: Whether social order is good or bad in the opened coastal areas has a direct bearing on the implementation of the open-door policy, and it also affects social order in the interior. The present situation shows that some negative factors that adversely affect social order are brought to the interior from the coastal areas. Therefore, it is necessary to pay special attention to public security work in the coastal areas.

In the past few years, social order has also improved gradually in the coastal areas as a whole. Public security and order have improved markedly in some port cities, railway stations, parks, amusement parks and other public places. However, because there are more temptations to commit crimes in the open coastal areas, there are still many problems in maintaining social order. For example, some types of major criminal offenses are on the rise. To varying degrees, the incidence of major cases had increased between 1984 and 1985 in all the three special economic zones of Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shantou and the six open cities of Guangzhou, Zhanjiang, Haikou, Zhaoqing, Foshan and Jiangmen. And such evil practices as the spreading of pornographic video tapes, prostitution and gambling, which pose a serious threat to social order, have not been checked completely. He pointed out that public security work in the open coastal areas is very important, and it is especially necessary for all departments in the local community to cooperate with the public security organs and join their efforts in the fight against crime.

#### Relying on the Masses and Coordinating Efforts by All Quarters Concerned

"The public security organs' professional work should be combined with reliance on the people, and efforts by all quarters concerned must be coordinated in crime prevention and control. This is the fine tradition and valuable experience of China's public security work." This principle was emphasized repeatedly by Ruan Chongwu during the interview. He said that to do a good job in public security work, it is absolutely necessary to rely on the broad masses, and that in performing their duties, public security personnel in various places have always received the assistance and support from the people at the grassroots level.

There are still many mass security organizations at the grassroots level in China. For example, there are more than 1.09 million public security committees and 2.44 million public security groups in urban and rural areas all over the country. They are the bridges and ties linking the public security organs and the broad masses, and the basic links to China's public security network. To improve social order, it is imperative to follow the policy of coordinating efforts by all quarters concerned. Ruan Chongwu offered an explanation: Crime is a complex social phenomenon, resulting from many factors combined. Therefore, to maintain social order, it is necessary to adopt various economic, cultural, educational, administrative and legal means and measures and rely on the joint efforts of propaganda, education, cultural, judicial and other departments concerned as well as various quarters of society under the leadership of the government at various levels. Experience has shown that only by relying on the coordinated efforts of all quarters concerned will it be possible to stabilize, improve and consolidate social order.

Ruan Chongwu said that it is exactly because we have relied on the people in public security work and followed the policy of coordinating the efforts of all quarters concerned in maintaining social order that our work is quite efficient and our social order is fairly good, even though we have only a people's police force of 500,000 in a big country of 1 billion people, one of the world's smallest police forces in proportion to population.

#### Strict Training To Improve the Quality of the Public Security Personnel

Experience in the past few years has proven the fighting capacity of China's public security personnel. In cracking down on crime and protecting the people's interests, the public security personnel have displayed their fine quality and their spirit to serve the people.

On the question of how to further improve the quality of the public security personnel, Ruan Chongwu said that to better adapt themselves to the current situation, the public security personnel need to further upgrade their political quality, professional competence and general knowledge.

It was clearly set forth at the national conference on public security education work, held in November 1984, that strategic importance should be attached to the role of public security education in strengthening the ranks of public security personnel. Beginning in 1984, to serve as a member of the people's police, one must be a graduate of a people's police academy or with a senior middle school educational level and more than 6 months of training. Work has also started on the training of leading

cadres from county public security bureau chief up. The Ministry of Public Security also plans to have all the public security personnel with a lower educational level undergo training by rotation in the next 4 or 5 years so that most of them can attain a senior middle school educational level.

At present, there are in China 17 higher public security educational institutions including the Chinese People's Public Security College and the Chinese People's Police Officers College and 73 secondary vocational level people's police academies. The public security organs in various parts of the country also organize or encourage public security personnel to attend radio and television universities, night universities, correspondence universities and other professional training courses so that the ranks of public security personnel can keep abreast of the developing situation and meet the demands of the rapidly developing socialist modernization drive.

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PUBLIC SECURITY MINISTER INTERVIEWED

Beijing LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK] in Chinese No 19, 12 May 86 pp 12-14

[Interview with Public Security Minister Ruan Chongwu [7086 1504 2976] by Lin Hai [2651 3189] and Yun Shan [0061 2619]; date and place not given: "Rely on the Masses of the People, Do a Good Job of Public Security Work; An Interview With Public Security Minister Ruan Chongwu"]

[Text] In the last few years, China's public security organs and the vast ranks of public security police officers have engaged in a great amount of outstanding, effective work in attacking enemies, punishing criminals, and protecting the interests of the people. They have enthusiastically dedicated themselves to creating a well-ordered, stable social environment for socialist construction in China. In his report entitled, "On the Seventh 5-Year Plan" made at the 4th Plenum of the 6th National People's Congress, Premier Zhao Ziyang pointed out that: Public security officers are the defenders and builders of the socialist motherland. They put forth a great effort to maintain public security during the Sixth 5-Year Plan. Zhao expressed the hope that the vast ranks of public security cadres continue their excellent traditions during Seventh 5-Year Plan and devote themselves even more strongly to the defense and construction of the motherland.

In order to further understand the public security situation in China and the hard work performed by public security officers, we visited Public Security Minister, Yuan Chongwu.

The Current Situation in the Social Order and Tasks of Public Security Work

Ruan Chongwu spoke first of China's current security situation. He said: The situation is just as it was capsulized by Comrade Qiao Shi [0829 4258] at the National Conference on Political and Legal Work--There has been a marked turn for the better in public security recently. At the same time we are faced with quite a few new problems, but the conditions are already present to take another turn for the better toward stability.

The facts demonstrating the marked turn for the better in public security are: since the hard crackdown on serious crime begun in August 1983, the blustering arrogance of criminals has been forcibly reduced as have the



disturbances and destructiveness of gangs. Public security has clearly improved and the masses feel much safer. Even though this year's Spring Festival and Lantern Festival were more exciting than any previous year, public security of most regions throughout the nation was very good. In order to allow the people across the nation to enjoy the holidays, the vast ranks of the public security officers worked overtime at their posts to prevent, by their hard work and labor, the occurrence of incidents of all kinds and criminal activities. According to national statistics, an examination of the crackdown on criminal activities that threaten the public order over the past 28 months shows that the crime rate fell by 25.9 percent. The crime rate for 1985 was .0005 percent. Viewed from an international perspective, China has one of the lowest crime rates in the world. In addition, an increasing number of the masses have the courage to struggle against criminal elements, which is also a gratifying phenomenon in China's public security situation.

Ruan Chongwu pointed out that from the national perspective, there is unevenness in the turn for the better in public security. Although the economic reform and open door policy have greatly promoted China's socialist modernization drive, it has caused us to be faced with some new public security problems due to various domestic and international factors. For example, certain ugly social phenomena that had disappeared after the establishment of the PRC have reemerged; economic crime has increased; cases of fraud and theft have increased, accounting for 70-80 percent of all cases; economic disputes and disputes among the people have grown more numerous; the volume of crime stemming from outside criminal elements has gone up compared to the past. In addition, the question of how to improve management over traffic in increasingly prosperous cities and the greatly increased flow of people, funding and materials have become new tasks for public security work. These new situations and problems are of a complexity never before seen in public security work.

At this point, Ruan Chongwu stated confidently that despite all these problems, there are still many conditions present for making a turn for the better in public security. The national political and economic situation at present is a good one, and the construction of a spiritual civilization and the gradual improvement of the party's workstyle will surely effectively promote a development of the social atmosphere toward a more healthy direction. A Socialist democracy and legal system are in the process of being further constructed and work to widely educate the people in basic legal knowledge is developing. In the past few years, the level of practical work of public security and judicial departments has generally been enhanced and quite a few new experiences in conducting public security work in the new situation have been amassed. Therefore, public security departments are full of confidence in their ability to conduct their work from now on despite their arduous tasks and numerous difficulties.

Ruan Chongwu told us that at the national conference of public security bureau chiefs held not long ago the major tasks for public security work for 1986 were presented. They are: continuing to crackdown on serious crime and economic crime, energetically taking part in comprehensive public



security management, further improving grassroots work and various types of professional work, strictly enforcing public security management, striving to take a turn for the better in public security in cities with populations of more than 300,000, gradually normalize urban and rural public security and order nationwide, fully put into play the role of public security organs as the instruments of the people's democratic dictatorship and in serving the creation of a socialist material and spiritual civilization. Ruan Chongwu said in public security management at the present time, it is particularly necessary to augment control over the transient population, do a good job of helping and educating youth who are involved in minor criminal activity and to insist that all regions create and widely promote various systems of public security responsibility and joint defense to form a tight security network.

#### The Importance of Taking Public Security Work in Coastal Zone Seriously

When this reporter inquired about public security work in China's coastal zones, Ruan Chongwu responded: The level of public security in the coastal development zones is directly related to how the open door policy is implemented, and affects public security inland as well. Judging from the present situation, some negative elements affecting public security inland have come from the coastal development zones. Therefore, we have to pay particular attention to public security work there. In the last few years overall public safety in the coastal regions has gradually been improving. Public security and order in some ports, train and bus stations, parks, recreation centers and other public places has clearly improved.

However, since there are quite a few crime-causing factors in the coastal development zones, many problems remain in public security, such as the increase of the number of major cases. As we understand it, the serious crime rate in 1985 in the three SEZ's in Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shantou and in the six open cities of Guanzhou, Zhanjiang, Haikou, Shiqing, Foshan and Jiangmen went up to varying degrees compared to 1984. Secondly, the spread of pornographic videotapes, prostitution, gambling and other unhealthy tendencies harmful to the social order have not yet been completely stopped. He pointed out the arduous difficulties involved in public security work in the coastal development zones where cooperation between all sectors of society and public security departments would be particularly necessary to deal with the problem in a comprehensive manner.

Rely on the Masses of the People, Treat the Problem Comprehensively "The specialized work of public security organs must be integrated in an overall way with the masses of the people to prevent and control crime." This is part of the great tradition of public security work in China and is an invaluable experience. In our interview Ruan Chongwu repeatedly stressed this point. He said, to do a good job of public security, we must rely on the vast masses; in executing all tasks, public security departments must obtain the cooperation and support of the masses at the grassroots level. In Shanghai alone there are 350,000 public security activists among cadres, retired workers or housewives. They play an important role in assisting public security organs to crack down on crime, maintain traffic and social

order, in theft and fire prevention, to prevent the occurrence of incidents and accidents harmful to public order and to help educate youthful minor offenders. There are also quite a few mass organizations for the maintenance of public security in China, such as the public defense committees and groups throughout the cities and countryside which function as a bridge and bond between the organs of public security and the vast masses of the people and form a basic link in China's public security control and prevention network.

In speaking of the principle of the necessity of comprehensive management of public security, Ruan Chongwu said that crime is a complex social phenomenon and is composed of diverse elements. Therefore, work to maintain public security should proceed under the leadership of all levels of the government and rely on propaganda, educational, cultural, judicial and other relevant departments and various social forces to adopt various economic, cultural, educational, administrative and legal methods and measures. Practice has shown that only by comprehensive treatment can public security stabilize, take a turn for the better and be consolidated. In particular he stressed how public security organs have always implemented the principle of division of labor in management, and a system of dual responsibility involving supervisory agencies and local governments centering around the locality. This has provided the necessary conditions for engaging in comprehensive public security work in all regions, and is a special characteristic of public security work in China.

Precisely due to our reliance on the masses of the people and the implementation of the principle of comprehensiveness, public security work in this great nation of 1 billion people has been rather effective and the social order is fairly good, despite the fact that China's 500,000-man people's police force makes it proportionately the smallest such force in the world, based on population.

#### Strictly Monitor the Police, Enhance Quality in Public Security Ranks

Practice in struggle over the past few years has shown that China's public security forces are combat-worthy. In attacking crime and protecting the people's interests, the vast ranks of public security police officers have demonstrated excellent qualities and the spirit of serving the people. Ruan Chongwu explained to us that: in 1985, more than 5,000 public security officers were awarded for meritorious service nationwide, winning the affection and confidence of the people. Some police officers showed fearlessness in face of danger while struggling with criminal elements; others ignored threats to personal safety, endangering their own lives to protect the security of the people's lives and property. In Jilin Province, a people's policeman by the name of Chen Ge [7115 7704] sacrificed his own young life to protect the safety of passengers on a bus where he rushed a criminal who had pulled the fuse of a bomb in resisting arrest. Last year when natural disaster struck Liaoning, the public security officers were on the scene to help the masses in rescue work, taking on the dangerous tasks for themselves, exhibiting the noble spirit of willingness to sacrifice oneself for the sake of others. Public security officers involved in the China-Vietnam border war overcame countless difficulties and dangers, completing their tasks in

an outstanding way. Police officers working in grassroots public security stations have a difficult job. They work in shifts around the clock, patrolling the streets and alleys, contacting numerous families and households. Everyday they have to deal with many disputes and criminal cases. China's many civil disputes, including arguments between family members and neighbors are resolved by the public security stations, public security and mediation committees.

Regarding the problem of further enhancing the quality of public security officers, Ruan Chongwu said that in order to adapt more appropriately to the current situation, the political, professional and cultural level of the public security ranks needs to be further enhanced. The development of a socialist spiritual civilization and the further correcting of party and police workstyles must be taken as focal points in the work to build up the public security ranks. We must monitor the police strictly, go all out to rectify discipline problems, overcome pernicious attitudes on the part of a minority of police regarding privileges and their "indifferent, rough and bossy" manner of dealing with the people, and to make relations between the police and people even closer. The illegal and undisciplined behavior of a minority of public security officers must be dealt with resolutely. We cannot forget under any circumstances, that public security work is to be conducted to serve the masses of the people.

In order to further improve the quality of the public security ranks, it was clearly pointed out at the National Conference on Public Security Education Work held in November, 1984, that public security education must be given a place of strategic priority in building public security ranks. Beginning in 1984, all people's policemen had to be graduates of the People's Police Academy, or have the equivalent of a senior middle school education plus undergo more than one-half year of training. Training work has already been initiated concerning leadership cadres at the level of county public security bureau chief and above. The Ministry of Public Security also plans to conduct widespread rotational training during the next 4-5 years of police officers with poorer educational backgrounds, to enable them to basically attain a senior secondary school level.

There are at present in China 17 college-level public security schools, including the China People's Public Security University and the China People's Police Officers' University, and 73 people's police academies at the specialized secondary school level. Public security agencies nationwide also organize and encourage police officers to take classes at the radio and television universities, evening colleges or correspondence universities and participate in various types of professional training classes, in order to enable China's public security tanks to keep up with new developments and adapt as rapidly as possible to the needs involved in the socialist modernization drive.

Ruan Chongwu stressed that we must work hard to implement the Seventh 5-Year Plan and enhance the ability of public security agencies for self-improvement. We must also further reform and strengthen public security work, continue to mobilize and rely on various forces throughout society to deal with public

security problems in a comprehensive manner and make a basic turn for the better as rapidly as possible in improving the social atmosphere, order, and security.

Near the end of the interview, Minister Ruan Chongwu said candidly that public security work does not have to be conducted so mysteriously. The functions of public security agencies are to "protect the people, attack the enemy, punish crime and serve the four modernizations." He expressed his gratitude to us for further enhancing the understanding and support of the masses of the people of public security work by this report.

The 53-year-old Ruan Chongwu was appointed minister of public security last year. Before that he had served as scientific and technical attache to our embassy in the FRG, as deputy secretary of the Shanghai municipal CPC committee, and as the deputy mayor of Shanghai. He enjoys participating in sports, in particular, basketball and swimming. However, since public security work is busier than in the past, he no longer has much free time to engage in recreation outside of work.

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CSO: 4005/763

ADHERING TO, DEVELOPING MARXISM DISCUSSED

Beijing QUNYAN [POPULAR TRIBUNE] No 4, 7 Apr 86 pp 17-21

[Article by Tong Chewu [4547 6508 0063]: "On Adhering to and Developing Marxism"]

[Text] A socialist country is built on the foundation of Marxist theories and for us to adhere to Marxism is right and proper and cannot be questioned. But what deserves our study is that on the issue of adherence itself, there is still the question of how to go about doing it. There are different forms of "adherence": followers of religions also "adhere to" their religious doctrines. As for Marxism, there is the doctrinaire form of "adherence" which insists that "whenever one speaks, one speaks in the name of Marxism-Leninism," and "one dares not speak if it is not Marxism-Leninism." There is Lin Biao's "adherence" which is 'to hold the Quotations of Chairman Mao' in his hands and shout 'long live' all the time." Then there is the "adherence" of the "two whatevers." Reality has proved that all the above forms of "adherence" designated by quotation marks can only lead Marxism into a "dead end" and our country's revolutionary enterprise to the path of failure.

The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee has restored the ideological line of "seeking truth from facts" and correct our attitude toward Marxism. Henceforth, many knowledgeable people in the country have realized that in order to adhere to Marxism, we must overcome the theories of "one school" (that is, believing that there are fundamentally two schools, Marxism and non-Marxism and one must belong to one or the other); "unitarianism" (only authoritative leaders can inherit and develop Marxism); "commentary" (that is, to use Marxism as the object of commentary and an instrument for explaining policies); "substitution" (that is, substituting the methods of various disciplines with Marxist methods) and "closing" (that is, to adopt a 'closed country' approach in the study of Marxism, marking off a forbidden zone for oneself and isolating oneself) etc. Knowledgeable people have clearly seen that we must rectify all these past erroneous attitudes toward Marxism; otherwise, there is no future for Marxism, not to mention "adherence."

The purpose of overcoming the aforementioned theories is to develop Marxism. As far as its real nature is concerned, Marxism is a developing science which constantly develops and opens up as time progresses and is not a closed and

stagnant system. Only if we "develop" Marxism can we "adhere" to it. Knowledgeable people believe that Marxism must leave the "dead end" through developing.

The question is how to "develop" Marxism?

Some people have raised the issue of diversity in the development of Marxism. "Diversity" demands that under the common premise of affirming Marxism, different schools should be allowed to exist within the study of Marxism. In short, this is a demand for openness within a narrow confine. We fully understand the motive behind this demand. As this essay has pointed out, is it possible to have some different views in the study of Marxism? Based on the traditional concept formed over the years, the answer is no; the reason being that the so-called "hundred schools" is basically only 2: Marxism and non-Marxism, and it is either one or the other. If a certain authority is Marxist and your view is different, then you are non-Marxist. If you do not want to be a non-Marxist, then, sorry, "it is better to say as little as possible." It is exactly because "it is better to say as little as possible" that the stagnant atmosphere in the theoretical world has ensured. But Marxism is not a sect. Its greatness lies in its critical inheritance of all advanced ideas of the human world and its broad absorption of everything valuable in human knowledge. Can the confinement of Marxism within one school serve the purpose of "developing" Marxism?

Some people have proposed the active development of scientific Marxism for socialist construction. They believe that classic Marxism is designed for and is the science of socialist revolution. China has now entered the period of socialist construction and urgently needs Marxism to act as the science of socialist construction to guide forcefully the reforms, the running of various socialist enterprises, the people's lives and the building of the communist party and different social organizations during the period of socialist construction. Yet this is a problem of integrating Marxism with current reality and not one of the direction of its development. Marxism is a broad and complete ideological system. Its "origins" include German philosophy, British political economy and French socialism. Its history includes ideological systems, the international communist movement and socialist system. Its content includes nature, society and thought. Can the limiting of Marxism to the narrow confines of "socialist construction" serve the purpose of "developing" Marxism?

I quite agree with Comrade Ma Hong's [7456 3163] opinion. In his essay, "A Discussion of Current Trends in the Development of Social Science and Our Policy," Ma Hong points out that the current trends in the development of social science are: first, comprehensiveness; second, the strengthening of the relationship between basic and applied studies; third, quantification, modeling and precision; fourth, looking to the study of the future; fifth, internationalization; and sixth, using the model of "big science." Comrade Ma Hong believes that "the most serious weakness in our country's current social science study system is self-isolation." He says, "Marxism is a science which constantly develops and opens up with the progress of time and is not a closed, stagnant system. To develop Marxism is an important task the times have entrusted to philosophical and social science workers." His

proposal for the development of Marxism is, "we must study in depth the results of the newest sciences of our times, sum up the historical experiences of the international communist movement and socialist construction, and summarize the significant changes that have been or will be brought about especially by the new technological and production revolutions since the Second World War so as to move Marxist philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism to a new stage." Marxism was born on the basis of natural science's "three great discoveries." The development of Marxism can never be separated from the current new scientific and technological revolution. If Marx himself is still alive today, he will certainly develop his own theories along this direction.

But there are different views in the theoretical world. Some people believe that the correct attitude toward Marxism is first, to adhere to it and second, to develop it. Adherence is the premise and basis for development which is the process and result of adherence. There will be no development without adherence and there is no true adherence if it is divorced from development. In practice, although there is a linkage between "adherence" and "development," there are also contradictions because any "development" must include "abandonment" (that is, the replacement of old viewpoints with new ones). We cannot speak of "development" without "abandonment." In reality, it is not that "there is no development without adherence;" often the reverse is true: "there is no adherence without development." To use some actual events as examples: didn't the "whatever clique" use the "adherence" to the "two whatevers" to oppose Comrade Deng Xiaoping's taking over? Didn't the "leftists" use the "adherence" to the principle of "taking class struggle as the key link" that the unjust, fraudulent and wrongful cases could be reversed on a large scale, and it was only when we abandon old ideas of socialist agriculture and implement the agricultural production contract responsibility system that the agriculture which had been stagnant for a long time could move forward in great strides. The truth is that without development, there can be no real adherence.

Marxism itself is the result of a long-term continuous development. How, some people divide Marxism into the "young Marx" and the "adult Marx" or the "Marxist stage" and the "pre-Marxist stage." We shall not discuss whether such divisions are scientific, but their purpose is to facilitate the study of the process of Marx's ideological development. Marxism is not unchanging and its formative process also included from old to new, from immaturity to maturity, and the constant improvement of matured viewpoints. This was the case when Marx was alive. After the death of Marx, Engels, based on new phenomena in social developments and incorporating new results in the sciences, provided appropriate supplements to certain viewpoints of Marx, including such basic viewpoints as "historical materialism." Engels has emphasized that Marxism is a "developing theory." It is not a "dogma" but a "guide to action." He said, "The entire world view of Marxism is not a creed but a method. What it provides is not a ready-made dogma but a starting point for and the method to be used in further study."

In other countries, there is a growing "Marx craze." Many countries--not only socialist countries--are learning and studying the writings of Marx. Not



only are there Marxist study groups in workers organizations, in universities in many countries, there are Marxist courses. In other countries, except for those who "study" Marxism for the purpose of opposing it, scholars study Marxism as one of the sciences and it is characterized by its "openness." They have no particular models; indeed, writings which are based on little thought and without special points of view are not really welcomed. Today, the times will not allow us to use the "closed country" approach in our study of Marxism.

It should be pointed out that today Marxism is sweeping the world with tremendous momentum and this is a manifestation of its strong vitality. It relies on the correctness of its own theories and not on the protection of administrative authority. Marxism is full of truths which cannot be obliterated. As Marx himself has said, "truth is like flintstone, the more it is hit, the brighter will be the light it gives out." Some people worry that Marxism will be denied or abandoned as it develops but such worries are unnecessary and groundless. We can say with certainty that the great truth which Marx discovered in the social sciences will, with the constant development of Marxism, become even better and richer and gives out an even brighter light. Marxism is humankind's common theoretical wealth and it cannot be abandoned frivolously by a minority of the people, groups or countries. As in the natural sciences, aren't the scientific theorems and rules discovered or invented by the natural scientists forever inherited and expanded by later generations?

It should also be pointed out that for many years, some people's attitude toward Marxism has been non-Marxist. It was manifested in first, mysticism; and second, pragmatism. Mysticism is to worship Marx and his ideas as "god" and "theology" and not honor them as "human" and "human ideas." It is exactly because of such mysticism that led to those strange phenomena in the "Cultural Revolution" as "the most, the most, the most," "every statement is the truth," and "one statement can withstand ten thousand statements." We should realize that in the realm of ideology, except for the correct and incorrect relationship, there is no senior and junior or higher and lower relationships. It is very wrong to bring the class system into the realm of ideology. Regretably, the residue of mysticism has not been completely eradicated. Some people also say that before Marxism was established, there were many other theories and schools of socialism, many of which appeared briefly and were then denied by practice, becoming relics of history. But Marxism and only Marxism has advanced with the times and remained young. This shows clearly that Marxism's world view and basic principles have universal and permanent significance. Today, those who still consider Marxism to be merely one school among many and that it should be evaluated equally with other social science schools have in fact denied the developments of the last hundred years or more, and are therefore wrong both in theory and practice. Indeed, those which "appeared briefly" were failures and those which "remain young" are victorious. But "failure" and "victory," and "right" and "wrong" do not necessarily have any inner relationship with whether it is a "school" or not. Take "political parties" for example. Those which are victorious and right and those which are failures and wrong are both still "political parties." This is true of "schools," the more so because the term



"schools" is not derogatory and there is no need to use the term "not-a-school" to "elevate" Marxism. We must realize that to place Marxism in an "overweening" position is not to respect Marxism; it can only lead to its mummification. Lenin said, "Marxism is a system of Marxist views and theories." He also said, "We do not consider Marxist theories to be something that is sacred and unchangeable; on the contrary, we firmly believe that it has only laid the foundation for a science and if a socialist does not want to lag behind real life, he should, in all respects, move this science forward." Was Lenin disrespectful when he did not consider Marxism to be "the only one to be venerated" or "sacred"? Absolutely not; this is the correct way to treat Marxism.

"Pragmatism" is to treat Marxism with the "pragmatic" approach, holding tightly to whatever in Marxism that is beneficial to oneself and ignoring that which is not or even harmful. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" held onto the "theory of class struggle" in Marxism so as to take control of the party and usurp power and attack those who disagreed with them. In fact, "class struggle" was an excellent "stick" in their hands. Yet, what Marx has summed up in "The French Civil War" regarding the highly democratic system in the Paris Commune--such as abolishing the "rank appointment system," placing the real power of the commune in the hands of its members, and giving the commune members the authority to replace public personnel at any time--was totally ignored, as if Marx had never said such words.

In the recent National Party Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping called upon both the old and new cadres to study anew Marxist theories. This has tremendous significance. Recently, in the conference of central organ cadres and the graduation ceremony of the Central Party School, Comrade Hu Yaobang and Comrade Hu Qili have also talked about the correct attitude toward Marxism respectively. Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out, "Marxism is developing. We oppose those capitalist liberal tendencies which deny Marxism and consider Marxism as 'outdated.' We also oppose the incorrect tendency which treat Marxism as a mummified dogma." These words are very sound. Therefore, I believe that a correct attitude toward Marxism is an important issue in the study of Marxist theories which cannot be ignored.

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CADRE PERSONNEL SYSTEM REFORM, ECONOMIC SYSTEM REFORM DISCUSSED

Tianjin TIANJIN SHEHUI KEXUE [TIANJIN SOCIAL SCIENCES] in Chinese No 1,  
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[Article by the Office of Research of the Tianjin Municipal CPC Committee  
Organization Department: "The Position and Function of Cadre Personnel  
System Reform Within the Economic System Reform"]

[Text] At present, reform of the entire economic system, which takes the cities as the main focus, is proceeding on all fronts, and the accompanying cadre personnel system reform is also being carried out in several forms with heartening results. On this matter a necessary issue to explore is what inevitable relation exists between cadre system reform and economic system reform. What kind of position and function does the cadre system reform have within the economic system reform? How can we better carry both of them out simultaneously and coordinate their development. This article will discuss our opinion on this issue.

Cadre Personnel System Reform Is Inseparably Linked to Economic System Reform

At present the entire economic system reform focusing on the cities is an extraordinarily complex social project. The whole principle of systems theory tells us that only if the mutually related essential factors of the inner part of the whole system are given full play to their function can the whole system produce good results for the external environment. Likewise, the system of economic reform has to have close coordination between various links to the complete set of reforms and coordinated advancement together in order to achieve the best results in developing the productive forces. "The Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on Economic System Reform" summarizes the characteristics and principal content of this reform in this way: "On the premise of adhering to a socialist system, our reform of the economic system is to reform a series of mutually related links and areas in the relationship between production and the superstructure that are not suited to the development of productive forces. This clearly shows that the economic system reform must adjust the superstructure and its inappropriate parts, including a corresponding reform of the cadre system.

For example, in discussing changing the state's overly rigid and excessive management of enterprises, the "Resolution" clearly stipulates that one of the forms of the state's enterprise management is the "appointment, dismissal, and approval for hire of an enterprise's principal leading personnel." In discussing the expansion of enterprise autonomy and strengthening the life and vitality of enterprises, it clearly stipulates the six kinds of enterprise autonomy, two of which are enterprise "autonomy in hiring and dismissal and in engaging and selecting the enterprise's own workers and autonomy in deciding on ways to use workers and the forms of remuneration." In discussing respect for knowledge and talent and the reinstatement of a generation of new people, it requires us to "be sure not to be fettered by outmoded old ideas and conventions," to liberate our thinking, and to search for and discover talent. Moreover, with respect to the stipulated gradual increase in the autonomy of state-run industries and enterprises, the State Council put forward some specific requirements including the appointment and removal of factory heads (managers), party committee secretaries, factory level administration deputy chiefs, and a plant's mid-level administrative cadres; advertisements for skilled workers and managers; the selection of cadres from the workers, etc. From this it can be seen that cadre personnel system reform is one of the links of the economic system reform which cannot be overlooked. Therefore, what position and function does cadre personnel system reform have within the economic system reform?

We know that in the economic system reform, the reform of the planning system, the price system, the distribution system, the economic form, the cadre personnel system, and various other links has opened the way and supplied the conditions for the development of productive forces in different areas and angles. But each of these links in the entire economic system reform is not completely equivalent in the position it occupies and in the function it plays and reform of the cadre personnel system has its unique position and function.

Marxism tells us that the forces of production are composed of the mutual integration of the labor force and the means of production (production tools and other subjects of labor) with the ability to conquer and transform nature. Marx points out that "the productive forces of labor depend on the ceaseless advance and development of science and technology" and, moreover, that intellectuals are the carriers of science and technology. Modernized economic construction and the realization of a new technological revolution prove that advanced scientific and technological knowledge and men of talent with an advanced knowledge of scientific management are becoming more and more the principal factors in the development of the forces of production. If there are few of these talented people, then the modern means of production of the advanced-level productive forces will be unable to produce or be applied. If there are a few of these talented people, the economic work will not be able to reach the proper efficacy because of the shortage of competent managers. Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Zhao Ziyang have made a brilliant exposition of this problem. Comrade Deng Xiaoping points out: "All 10 points of the resolution are important, but the most important of them is the ninth one, which is to respect knowledge and talent. Summarizing this, the key to

success or failure is to discover and promote talented people (footnote 1) (In an address to the third session of the Central Advisory Commission)." Comrade Zhao Ziyang said: "What is the greatest difficulty in carrying out the four modernizations and invigorating China? It is not means, it is not funds, nor is it the system. The greatest problem is human talent, the shortage of talented people in science, technology, and management."

Yet how can we bring forth such a group of qualified people in the present social situation? With science and technology changing with each passing day and the gradual modernization of economic management in socialist planned commodity production, if we still depend on a minority of "Bo Le" alone, we will be unable to reach the distant objectives for the development of the forces of production. Our previous experience teaches us that if we want to produce a social environment where talent shows itself, we must establish a scientific cadre personnel system. Comrade Deng Xiaoping, speaking at an expanded meeting of the Politburo in August 1980, made an incisive exposition of the system's importance. He said: "Every type of mistake we have made is no doubt related to the ideology and work style of some of the leaders, but the problem of the organizational system and work system is even more important. If the system is good it may cause bad people to be unable to run amuck, but if the system is bad it may cause good people to be unable to do their work well, so much so as to be running backwards." Speaking of the lessons of 10 years of civil strife, he was not saying that individuals lacked responsibility, leading to fundamental, overall problems in the system. He actually meant that it was not that there were no talented people in the country, but rather that there was lacking a system of qualified scientists. Someone struck a vivid metaphor: human talent is a car, the system is the road. Without a road the car will only end up in a field or ditch. The cadre personnel system functions as an important component part of the superstructure. Its special functions are clearly stipulated by a series of links in selecting, utilizing, assessing, and treating talented people, in placing qualified people under the same standards and criteria, in carrying out the "promotion of the capable and the demotion of the incompetent," and in keeping the excellent and discarding the inferior. In this way, we can stimulate the continuous emergence of talented people, fill the ranks of the cadre organization with exuberant life and vigor, and quickly obtain a rise in the level of the forces of production under the condition of the ceaseless improvement of the key human factor.

But our cadre personnel system now in force cannot perform this function very well. It was shaped historically. Although it is not completely outmoded, there are some real abuses, such as the system of distribution in cadre employment, that is, the ability to enter but not exit; the single-committee appointment system and the mystifying, closed-model methods of cadre appointments; over-systematization and over-management in the management of cadres and management being out of line with the managers; the system of lifetime leadership posts, that is, the ability to rise but not fall; the "big pot" of cadre remuneration; etc. The result of these abuses is (1), the burying of talent and (2) the waste of talent. On the one hand, this keeps out some truly educated people. On the other hand, it also creates a lazy mood among

those who have already entered the ranks of the cadres and who then stop wanting to forge ahead. It may be said that the existing abuses in the cadre personnel system have already become a serious obstacle to the growth of talent and the development of the forces of production. After we have breached the old, ossified economic model and rationalized economic relations, if we fail to seize the appropriate moment to reform the cadre personnel system, to use the system to insure that the ranks of the cadres will be more revolutionary, youthful, knowledgeable, and professional, truly to carry out the objectives of the economic system reform, to strengthen enterprise vitality, and to promote the development of the social forces of production, then there is nothing to say. Just as Comrade Zhao Ziyang pointed out, if we are to open up the enterprises and their management, the key lies in the reform of the cadre personnel system. By selecting "capable, intelligent" people for leadership positions, the enterprises will obtain a method of "recruitment and recommendation." Within a year or so, after talented people were selected and given responsibility, the factories and plants have been greatly transformed.

From the practice of recent years it is clear that the key to reforming the economic system successfully lies in using much human talent and reforming the cadre personnel system. If the economic system is separated from cadre system reform then it can be neither enduring nor strong. If cadre system reform is separated from economic system reform (and that of other systems) then it will lose dependability and lose its way. Only by uniting the two into an organic whole can enterprises take on a new aspect and clearly better economic results be obtained. For example, at the Tianjin New Harbor Ship Yard people were formerly confused, management was confused, the plant was chaotic, product quality was lacking, the attitude of service was lacking, labor discipline was lax, and economic benefits were very low. After the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Central Committee, the plant's management underwent three reforms, the revolutionary responsibility of the leaders and members was strengthened, and there was abundant vigor, culture, technology, and an understanding of management. While they were reforming the production management system, they boldly reformed the cadre personnel system according to the guiding ideology of "promoting the capable and demoting the incompetent." From 1978 on, in carrying out the party's division of labor, it was made clear that the factory head had the authority to propose appointments and removals and to transfer mid-level cadres and had established a personal responsibility system in which cadres would be rewarded or punished according to performance. As for the "three dismissals and one removal" of cadres, on the basis of examination, already there has been a removal of incompetent leaders from their posts, the removal of the irresponsible and those who failed to transform their ideology within 3 months, the removal of those who would not submit to being transferred or who used their resignations to coerce leaders, and the dismissal of those who used their power for favoritism and fraudulent practices and those whose work style was not strictly pure. Owing to the plant's simultaneous reform of the distribution system, production management, and the cadre personnel system, a group of capable and talented people has been selected and this has greatly promoted the development of production. From 1980 to 1984 the profits realized by the plant

increased 49-fold from 340,000 yuan to 16.69 million yuan. In 1984 the glorious title of "economically beneficial advanced unit" was conferred upon it by the National Economic Commission. Contrary to this, although some enterprises have carried out some reforms in the economic reform, they have not carried out the necessary reforms of the cadre personnel system, they have not made a basic transformation of their viewpoint in personnel selection, "able persons" could not be reinstated, and thus economic benefits have not quickly increased nor was the face of enterprise greatly transformed. There is no lack of examples of this.

#### Cadre Reform Must Be Carried out Jointly With Economic Reform

Comrade Qiao Shi [0829 4258], speaking on 2 July 1985 about the Central Committee's Party draft of "Concerning Some Problems of Current Organizational Work," brought up the following requirements of the cadre personnel system reform: "The general principle is that the cadre personnel system reform must conform to the requirements of the economic reform and the comprehensive reform and be jointly carried out." Moreover, to carry out this objective we realize that we should pay attention to the creation of the necessary conditions both inside and outside the enterprises.

With respect to the externals of the enterprises, the main thing is gradually to simplify administration and release authority and to give to the enterprises the appropriately entrusted authority over economic management, especially over the management of the cadre personnel system. Only in this way can enterprises possibly take the initiative in coordinating every aspect of the economic system reform to develop the reform of the cadre personnel system. "The State Council Stipulation Concerning the Gradual Broadening of the Autonomy of State-run Industrial and Commercial Enterprises" puts forward some clear objectives concerning the broadening of enterprise management authority over cadre personnel matters, principally including: (1) Factory heads (managers) and party committee secretaries are to be separately appointed by upper-level administrative departments. Factory level administrative deputies are to be nominated by factory chiefs and appointed by the administrative departments. Mid-level in-plant administrative cadres are to be appointed and removed by factory chiefs. (2) Enterprises may invite applications from technical and management personnel from outside the unit and outside the district according to need and also determine remuneration on their own. (3) Enterprises may select and appoint cadres from among the workers as needed, and after appointing them remunerate them as they would cadres. While they are not holding the post of a cadre but are still serving as laborers, cadre remuneration is not to be held back. (4) Factory chiefs (Managers) are to have authority over rewarding and punishing the staff, including giving promotions and rewards and making discharges. (5) According to production requirements and enterprise characteristics, enterprises shall have the authority to recruit workers under the guidance of labor departments, examine them, and select the excellent ones for employment. They shall have the right to resist if any department or individual violates the country's stipulation for enterprises and inflexibly assigns a job to a member. These rights over the cadre personnel system in state-run enterprises, rights transferred down to a lower level by decree of the State



Council, must stay down. If only economic management authority is transferred to a lower level without the transfer of the proper cadre personnel system authority, or if only cadre personnel system management authority is transferred down to a lower level without the transfer of the proper economic management authority, then the cadre personnel system reform will be impossible to carry out in conjunction with the economic system reform and we will be unable to achieve the proper results. At present, some enterprises report that they have the necessary economic management authority but still do not have the appropriate cadre personnel system management authority, so it is out of the question to initiate a reform of the cadre personnel system. We should address and solve this problem immediately.

As for the internal aspect of the enterprises, the chief problem is for the leaders of the enterprises to liberate their ideology and increase their understanding. The economic system reform is a revolution. The cadre personnel system reform is also directly related to the immediate concerns and interests of the cadres and the masses. We will certainly encounter every sort of old ideological obstacle. In the face of this profound social transformation we are happy to see a group of worthwhile enterprise leaders who, for the sake of the prosperity and strength of the motherland and the prosperity of the people, carry out the reform of the hiring system and give a new look to the face of the enterprise while carrying out the reform of the economic management system with great boldness, standing up to idle words and broken promises. However, some enterprise leaders are still not like this. Although they are actively engaged in the reform of the economic system, with all kinds of worries they still shilly-shally about the reform of the cadre personnel system. The principal manifestation of this is that some of them feel there is no need to reform the cadre personnel system. Some feel they are too busy and cannot take this into consideration. Some still follow the ideology of "fearing, waiting, and watching," and as they fear offending anyone, they wait for orders from above, watching the activity on the left and right. The result is that capable people cannot be reinstated, worker activity cannot be fully mobilized, and the situation is not opened. What gives rise to these erroneous thoughts is mainly that some comrades have not gotten a clear idea about the place and function of cadre personnel system reform within the economic system reform. They are still tied to a "leftist" or old ideological viewpoint. The key to solving this problem lies in liberating their ideology. Such a liberation of ideology is smashing the fetters of every former kind of ideological viewpoint and ideological method, establishing Marxism's dialectical materialist point of view, correctly understanding the objective laws of economic reform, clearly understanding the great significance of the cadre personnel system reform within the economic system reform, and thereby consciously taking the initiative to combine the two and make them advance in conjunction.

In the economic system reform, not only must we look at the importance and urgency of the reform of the cadre personnel system but also its complexity and arduousness. We must have an intimate knowledge of it, seek truth from facts, and proceed with the leading steps. We cannot carelessly deal with it or go back and forth, turning from side to side to avoid it. To reach this

point, we should pay attention to upholding the reform's general plan in carrying it out, proceed from practice, and make an overall and systematic reform, a decisive orderly reform. At the same time we must uphold the general guiding ideology, which was put forward by the Organization Department of the Central Committee: "All reforms related to the cadre personnel system reform must benefit the economic system reform and the four modernizations, must benefit the 'four modernizations' of the ranks of the cadres and the routine replacement of old by new and cooperation, must benefit the huge growth of human talent and the immediate appearance of human talent and rational, practical human talent, must benefit the mobilization of a large number of cadres' enthusiasm and creativity, and must put to right such phenomena as 'do it or not, well or badly, it's the same,' 'you can go up but not down,' and 'you can enter but never leave.'" We still must uphold what the Central Committee's Organization Department has put forth: "Everything that the Central Committee and State Council have already clearly decreed (such as cadre retirement) must be strictly implemented. All Central Committee and State Council targets and conditions which are basically mature in principle (such as recruitment, mobility, and on-the-spot firing together with stipulating the term in office for certain jobs) must be actively tested, ceaselessly perfected, and progressively extended. All of the Central Committee and State Council stipulations, which are still not explicit but are created according to the needs of basic-level requirements, must be carefully studied as to the pros and cons and provided with proper guidance." As for the form and content of the cadre personnel system reform, apart from correctly handling the CPC Central Committee and State Council stipulations of recent years, we should, according to the different circumstances and specific conditions of the enterprises, use examination, appointment, democratic selection, offers of our own services and recommendations, recruitment, hiring, and other forms and reinstate those talented people who have both ability and integrity. Only by liberating our ideology and centering the economic system reform on cadre personnel system reform will its form and content thus be abundantly adapted and will this kind of work have bright prospects.

Practice is the only fountainhead for creating a scientific cadre personnel system, and the only criterion for testing whether or not the cadre personnel system is scientific. If we firmly adhere to the methodology and epistemology of dialectical materialism by practicing, summarizing, practicing again, and then summarizing again and understand the new conditions, solve new problems, summarize new experiences, and explore new patterns, then we can certainly take the cadre personnel system reform and inseparably unite it with the economic system reform and gradually establish a Chinese-style cadre personnel system suited to the needs of the four modernizations.

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GUIZHOU DISCIPLINE INSPECTION COMMISSION SECRETARY ON CADRE QUALITY

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Jul 86 p 5

[Article by Liu Hanzhen [0491 3352 2823], secretary of the Guizhou Provincial CPC Discipline Inspection Commission: "Strive To Improve the Quality of Discipline Inspection Cadres"]

[Text] Some time ago, the Guizhou Provincial Discipline Inspection Commission conducted an investigation on the present status of the discipline inspection cadres. The result shows that the great majority of the discipline inspection cadres love their work, perform their duties conscientiously, willingly bear responsibility and blame, consciously strive to improve themselves and are achieving great results in work. But there are also some discipline inspection cadres who have no vigor and are afraid of difficulty in work, some who lack experience and do not know how to handle complicated problems, and a few who have even violated law and discipline and sullied the image of discipline inspection cadres. These conditions show that it is imperative to improve the quality of discipline inspection cadres in a practical and effective way, while striving to carry out the work of the discipline inspection departments.

Discipline inspection work plays an important role in party-building. The party needs the effective work of the discipline inspection departments, through which to uphold its rules and regulations, rectify its work style and insure the implementation of its line, principles and policies. If discipline inspection cadres do not have good political quality, fairly extensive knowledge and ability to handle all kinds of complicated contradictions, they cannot possibly fulfill the tasks given to them by the party. No time must be lost in improving the political and professional quality of the discipline inspection cadres.

A qualified discipline inspection cadre of the party should have good political and professional qualities. He should strive to grasp the fundamental tenets of Marxism and be able to use these tenets to observe, analyze and solve problems in the light of the realities. In the complicated and difficult course of reform, he should remain clear-headed and stick to the correct political orientation. He should have a strong party spirit and unshakable sense of principle, act impartially, dare to tackle tough jobs, resolutely fight against all unhealthy trends, fear no retaliation, not

hesitate to sacrifice his personal interests and set an example in rectifying the party style. He should strive to acquire more scientific and general knowledge and improve his practical working capacity. Discipline inspection work in the new period involves a wide range of problems. If the comrades engaged in discipline inspection work do not have political, economic and legal knowledge and know nothing about the operations of the department of personnel being inspected, they will be unable to properly observe and handle problems and may even make mistakes. At the same time, it is also necessary for them to learn to do ideological and political work and know how to handle correctly all kinds of inner-party contradictions.

In the past few years, the discipline inspection departments in Guizhou have sent a number of cadres each year to study at the Central Party School and specialized training classes set up by the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, and they have also run discipline inspection cadre training classes at different levels on the principle that each level should be charged with definite responsibilities. From 1984 to the present, more than one-fourth of the discipline inspection cadres in the province have been temporarily released from work to receive short-term training, including more than 400 cadres at county level and above. After training, the political and professional qualities of the cadres have improved. At the same time, we have also actively encouraged discipline inspection cadres in all trades and occupations and various units to attend the television universities, sparetime universities, workers universities, night universities, correspondence schools and magazine-sponsored courses. To encourage those who study and develop on their own, in selecting and appointing cadres, we pay attention not only to those who have diplomas, real ability and knowledge and good work records but those who do not have diplomas but do have ability, knowledge and good work records, and both will be given suitable jobs. This stimulates people's enthusiasm for self-education and improves the quality of cadres.

While improving the theoretical and cultural quality of the discipline inspection cadres, it is also necessary to improve their working ability. New comers among them should be put to work together with veteran comrades. In the course of an investigation and the handling of a case, attention should be paid to cultivating and improving the young cadres' ability to analyze and solve problems, helping them increase their ability and knowledge through practice. Beginning this year, the provincial discipline inspection commission will send its young intellectual-cadres to the grassroots to temper themselves, group after group on a yearly rotational basis, and this will become a regular system. For the great majority of discipline inspection cadres, we encourage them to make great efforts to improve their professional standard through practice by commending the advanced and setting examples.

We have come to understand from experience that to really and basically improve the quality of the ranks of discipline inspection cadres as a whole, the key lies in selecting and appointing truly competent and well-educated cadres strictly according to the principle that cadres should be "more revolutionary, younger, better educated and professionally more competent" and following the procedures for selecting cadres. Only in this way can

we encourage and inspire the vast numbers of discipline inspection cadres to study and make progress. Morally and professionally mediocre cadres should be educated. Those who are really incompetent should be transferred out of the discipline inspection force. Cadres with unhealthy tendencies should be sternly criticized, and those who deserve to be punished should be punished, thus maintaining the purity and enhancing the fighting capacity of the ranks of discipline inspection cadres.

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RURAL PARTY RECTIFICATION DISCUSSED

Party Rectification to Promote Reform

Beijing NONGMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Apr 86 p 1

[Editorial: "Rural Party Rectification Must Promote Reform"]

[Text] In accordance with the spirit of the "Circular on the Plan for Rural Party Rectification" (issued by the Central Committee's Guiding Committee for Party Rectification), basic-level rural party rectification is now proceeding all over China, step by step and in a planned way, from the townships down to the villages. In sum, its progress is rather smooth, its methods correct and its main trends healthy. Quite a few places have obtained excellent results. As we examine the new circumstances reflected by some localities, we should take one problem seriously. That is, we must correctly handle the relationship between party rectification and reform. The former must contribute to adherence to the latter. Party rectification must promote reform and create conditions for more thorough reform.

This current rural party rectification is accompanying thorough rural reform. As everyone knows, China has carried out a series of major reforms in the countryside since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Central Committee. These reforms are as follows: the total implementation of the household contract responsibility system that links remuneration to output; the encouragement of the peasants to become rich by working hard and the granting of permission to some areas and some peasants to become rich before others; the policy of the simultaneous promotion of the state, collective and individual economies, the development of economic diversification and the establishment of rural enterprises; the adjustment of the industrial structure; the reform of the system of centralized and assigned procurement, the relaxation of controls on the prices of agricultural products and the expansion of the market's regulative role, all of which are putting the rural economy on the right track toward a planned commodity economy. Precisely because of this series of major reforms, the enthusiasm of vast numbers of peasants has been aroused to the fullest, China's agriculture has obtained results that have attracted worldwide attention in just a few short years and the long stagnant rural economy has taken on the prosperous look of vigorous growth.

Although rural reform has already obtained tremendous results, the new system is still quite incomplete and immature. In particular, urban and rural reform have merged into an organic whole now, urban reform has just begun and so the new and old systems exist side by side. This complex situation is bound to lead to quite a few instances of no coordination and no complementarity. In addition, leadership, institutions and the law are temporarily lagging behind in a state of inappropriateness. In management it is hard to avoid some "leaks" and "vacuums," and certain illegal elements can exploit these loopholes and commit economic crimes. Party rectification, therefore, must strictly distinguish between the economic crimes of an extremely small number of persons and the defects and problems of reform. As for those defects and problems, persons engaged in party rectification must--through study--raise consciousness, unify understanding, summarize experiences and continue to move forward. In a recent conversation with foreign guests, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "It is hard to avoid some errors in reform. As we continue our reform, there will be more errors. We will work hard to correct whatever mistakes we make, but we will not swerve from the road of reform."

We hope that rural party organizations at all levels will resolutely carry out the Central Committee's general and specific policies on rural party rectification and genuinely and thoroughly inculcate the idea of perseverance in reform in the rural party. They must not prevent party members from taking the lead with the revolutionary spirit of becoming rich by working hard, eliminate specialized households' and individuals' enthusiasm for expanding commodity production or put a stop to economic diversification and small-town enterprises. In sum, rural party rectification must promote reform; it absolutely cannot impede it.

Some ask if the defects and problems of reform can be corrected while we are safeguarding its gains. We should adopt a positive attitude and take care of the defects and problems. The purpose is to keep the good and get rid of the bad. Instead of negating reform, we have to carry out reform more thoroughly and more perfectly. This does not contradict the rectification of abuse of authority for personal gain and other unhealthy tendencies among principal rural basic-level party members and cadres, nor is it the same as cracking down on economic crime. We must clearly distinguish between these two qualitatively different contradictions and correctly carry out the party's policy,

The Central Committee's Guiding Committee for Party Rectification points out in its "Circular on the Plan for Rural Party Rectification" that rural party rectification must "eliminate all interference with rural reform and promote and guarantee both the thorough healthy development of rural reform and the further prosperity of the rural economy." Moreover, it requires that the "further correct understanding of every party policy of rural reform and economic development" become one of the problems whose solution must receive emphasis in rural party rectification. This speaks exceedingly clearly about the oneness of party rectification and reform. We should work in strict accordance with this spirit.

## Rectification Corrects Members' Thought

Beijing NONGMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Apr 86 p 3

[Article by Li Dabai [2621 1129 0554] and Wan Xiaomin [8001 2400 3046] of the Hebei Provincial CPC Committee Research Group: "Party Rectification Must Help Party Members Correct Their Thought"]

[Text] Qijiazuo Township, to which we have been sent, is located in a mountainous area of Tang County in Hebei Province and is one of that county's poorest townships. It began party rectification on 26 February. We present below what we have seen and heard in the villages of Majiayu and Beichangyu.

There are four kinds of problems common to party rectification:

The first is complacency and failure to think of forging ahead. The 2 villages have a total of 90 party members, of whom over 30 had one-on-one conversations with us. When asked what plans they had for increasing production in the future, almost every one replied: "If we have things to eat and drink and some pocket money, we're fine. The common people farm and try nothing else." Except for 2 who have set up a cinema and a little restaurant and for 10-odd who go out to provide labor service (mainly temporary work at a brickyard and a coal mine), the vast majority of the 90 party members till their own fields under the responsibility system. They produce food and sell small quantities of vegetables.

The second is a lack of study and understanding of party policy. As we understand the situation, the party members in these two villages, including branch members, have never conscientiously studied either the Central Committee's five number-one documents or relevant policy documents from the provincial, prefectural and county levels. We asked a few party members what the responsibility system is. They replied: "It is simply the division of land." We asked if the system of contracts for the harnessing of waste mountains wouldn't change in several decades. They said: "The higher-ups have already talked about that. Who knows what will happen after several decades?"

The third is a hazy concept of organization and an inability to play an exemplary leading role. Over half the party members cannot pay party dues on their own; some have not paid for several years in a row. When we were talking with 10-odd party members about what a party member must do before he or she is considered to be playing an exemplary leading role, they replied: "We don't know. Now each person takes care of himself or herself. Who is there to be led?"

The fourth is a feeling among some party members that it is no use being a party member anymore. This feeling grows out of an inactive organizational life. Sometimes they have to be called to attend a meeting, which they consider too troublesome. Hence they think that it is better not to belong to the party.

Under these circumstances, some rural party members believe that the current party rectification lacks leadership and are unwilling to attend party rectification meetings.

In light of these circumstances, the township party committee is first solving the problem of the party branch's leading group. It is drawing up a work system for the party branch, regularizing organizational life, teaching party members ideals, goals and organizational discipline and stressing that party members must lead the masses to expand economic diversification in order for the masses to become rich as fast as possible.

12570

CS0: 4005/759

PRIMARY RURAL ORGANIZATIONS, PARTY MEMBERS, CADRES SURVEYED

Beijing NONGMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16, 17 May 86

[Article by the rural economic survey leading group, of the Rural Policy Research Center, Secretariat, CPC Central Committee and the Rural Development Research Center of the State Council: "Rural Primary Organizations, Party Members and Cadres"]

[16 May 86 p 2]

[Text] I. The primary organizations, party members and cadres are generally good.

According to a survey of a number of selected rural villages, there are a total of 8.468 party members (averaging 32 party members per village), who account for 2.2 percent of the total population and 4.4 percent of the total labor force of these villages. Among the party members, 15 percent are serving as cadres at various levels, who account for 62.6 percent of the total number of cadres. In terms of households, there are party members in 4,600 households, or 12.5 percent of the total number of households in these villages. Among the provinces, the proportion of party members to the population is highest in Shandong (6.1 percent of population) and lowest in Xinjiang (1.5 percent of population). In the rest of the provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities, the proportion is about 2 percent, 3 percent or 4 percent. These figures show that although the number of rural party members is not large, the distribution is roughly even. If they can give full play to their exemplary vanguard role, they certainly can unite and lead the masses of peasants in pushing forward the deepening rural reforms and guarantee the success of the socialist rural modernization drive.

1. The majority party's primary organizations and members have played an active role in rural reform.

The survey shows that most of the party branches and party members have played an active role in the rural reforms in the past few years. According to statistics of the survey, about 60 percent of the party branches and party members are basically able to work normally and carry out activities. They have played a certain role in implementing the party's rural principles and policies, leading the masses in reforming the rural economic structure, developing commodity production, embarking on the road to prosperity through



hard work and building the spiritual civilization. A number of advanced party branches in leading the masses in shedding poverty and achieving affluence have emerged in some places. This is the basic guarantee for the smooth progress of the rural reform and the rapid development of the rural economy.

However, the survey shows that rural party members are generally older, and their educational level is generally lower. Of 160 party members surveyed in Jilin Province, the average age is 45, 32 percent are over 50 years old, and only 9.3 percent are under 30. According to a survey of 4,766 rural party members, 27.3 percent of them are illiterate, higher even than the 23.5 percent illiteracy rate of the country as a whole as shown by the national census. In such a state, the primary rural party organizations are hardly equal to the historical task of the modernization of agriculture.

2. Grassroots-level government administration has been separated from commune management, and cadre quality has improved.

The township and villages covered by the survey have all undergone structural reform according to the principle of "separating government administration from commune management." Generally the former communes have become townships each run by a people's government (some communes have become districts, where production brigades have become townships); former production brigades are now villages run by villagers' committees; and former production teams have become villagers' groups. Township and village administrative and self-rule organs have largely been established and are being improved step by step. However, the economic organizations at these levels are still far from perfect. As to the state of grassroots-level rural cadres, a survey of selected rural townships shows the following: First, the total number of cadres has become smaller. In the townships surveyed, there were a total of 25,159 cadres at the township level and below in 1984, a reduction of 25,612, or 50.4 percent, from that in 1978. Among them, the number of township-level cadres averaged 27.8 per township, an increase by 2.4 persons or 9.4 percent, but the number of village-and group-level cadres dropped sharply. The average number of village-level cadres was 5.4 per village, a drop by 0.8 person or 12.9 percent. The average number of cadres in each villagers' group was 1.4, a drop by 2.3 persons or 69 percent. Second, they are better educated. Among the township-level cadres, 40 percent had a senior middle school or better educational level, 47 percent had a junior middle school education, and 13 percent had a primary school education. Among the village-level cadres, 52 percent had a junior middle school or better educational level, 44 percent had a primary school education, and 4 percent were illiterate. Third, they tend to become younger. Divided into three age brackets, those under age 45 account for 74 percent of township-level cadres and 78 percent of village-level cadres; those between 46 and 55 years old account for 22 percent of township-level cadres and 19 percent of village-level cadres; and those over 56 account for 4 percent and 3 percent of township-level and village-level cadres respectively. These data show that after the initial readjustment and consolidation, the grassroots rural cadre structure and the quality of cadres have improved.

II. A considerable number of primary organizations are in a state of paralysis or semi-paralysis and urgently need to be consolidated.

The survey shows that some party branches have virtually brought party activities to a standstill and failed to play their role as a fighting bastion uniting and leading the masses forward. Some party branches do nothing all the year around and recruit no new party members, while party members neither attend party activities nor pay their membership dues. A survey of 20 village party branches in Henan shows that 6 of them have not recruited a single new party member since 1978. A survey of 20 village party branches in Xinjian shows that they have admitted just 11 persons to the party since 1978, representing a 3.4 percent growth in membership. The laxity of primary party organizations is to a certain extent the result of the incompatibility between the party's primary organizational structure and the multiple levels and varied forms of economic organizations. In the past few years, many trans-regional, inter-trade and inter-owner-ship economic organizations have appeared in the rural areas, and many party members have left the villages and farm work for years on end to work in second-and third-line industries. Under the circumstances, with party branches established only in villages and not in the new industries, party members who are away from home all year round have in fact lost contact with their party branches. At the same time, with no new party organizations established for the many party members who have come from different places to work in second-and third-line industries, they are unable to play their role as party members.

Some of the grassroots-level administrative leading bodies are also in a state of ossification or semi-ossification. They often get paid, but do nothing. The masses say: "There are people asking for money, but no one doing the work."

Moreover, after the separation of government administration from commune management, separate party, government and people's cooperative economic organizations have been set up, if only in name, in many places. But their respective tasks, roles and responsibilities are not clearly defined, and there is no clear division of labor. In addition, many cadres have long lived under the integrated system of government administration and commune management and have formed the habit of waiting for the secretary to give the final word on everything. Therefore, it is still "one door with three signboards, and one man speaking," and the party organization still runs everything. The people's cooperative economic organizations are also imperfect. Some are supposed to be run by the local people, but are in fact run by the government, and they cannot play the role they are supposed to play and are hardly able to undertake the tasks of developing the commodity economy. Some village cadres are under pressure to carry out assignments from the higher levels, and they cannot concentrate on meeting their own responsibilities in economic work and services.

To meet the needs of rural economic reform, the localities feel that it is necessary to give top priority to strengthening the primary rural organizations, to really improve and perfect the rural party, government and cooperative

economic organizations. This is a major question concerning the development of the socialist material and spiritual civilization in the rural areas as a whole. To develop party activities, in addition to primary party organizations set up in the township (town) and village administrative areas, it is necessary also to set up party branches and party groups as needed in each trade based on the form, level and size of the economic organizations. It is necessary to disseminate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the party's line, principles and policies constantly among the peasant masses, particularly the rural youth, to raise their political and ideological consciousness. At the same time, it is necessary to encourage them to love labor, learn skills and bring their talents into full play. The activists among them who meet the requirements for party members should be admitted into the party. It is necessary to improve gradually the age and educational composition of the rural primary party organizations. The cooperative rural economic organizations, or whatever they may be called, should be set up and improved step by step, so long as the masses think they are needed. Rural party and government organizations at the grassroots level and the cooperative economic organizations should each have clearly defined functions and responsibilities. Relevant regulations should be enacted, and there should be a clear-cut division of labor and responsibilities. The erroneous tendency of party organizations neglecting party activities must be checked.

[17 May 86 p 2]

[Text] III. There are impurities in the ideology and work style of many party members and cadres, and it is necessary to strengthen their education.

The survey shows that a considerable proportion of party members and cadres in the rural areas are basically ineffective. A few of them have violated the law and discipline, but for most of these party members and cadres, it is confused thinking and impurities in work style that have rendered them ineffective in the process of great rural economic changes.

1. Many party members and cadres fail to adapt their thinking to the needs of the new situation and new tasks.

Since the party shifted the emphasis of its work and the implementation of the system of contracted responsibilities on the household basis with remuneration linked to output, there has been a slackening of the education of grassroots-level cadres and rural party members. As a result, many fail to adapt their thinking to the changing situation. They still have not emancipated themselves from the shackles of "leftist" ideas and traditional concepts, and still do not quite understand the party's current principles and policies. Some of them are content with self-sufficient small-scale production, and look down on the commodity economy; some still think that only the people's communes characterized by their "large size and high degree of public ownership" and the "three-level ownership by the commune, the production brigade and the production team" are socialism. and that the system of contracted household responsibility related to output means "individual farming"; some are seriously affected by egalitarian thinking, and they regard the specialized households that have become rich ahead of

others as "allowing each to go his own way" and opposed to the goal of common prosperity; and some regard nonagricultural occupations as "speculation" and "evil ways," thinking that traditional agriculture is the only "correct thing to do." Owing to these confused ideas, many party members and cadres are hesistant, taking a wait-and-see attitude and doing little in the development of the rural commodity economy. And, it is the rule rather than the exception that party members and cadres lack experience in leading commodity production. Some of them also feel the dilemma: "The old ways no longer work, and the new ways have yet to be learned."

Many party members are at a loss on how to play the exemplary vanguard role in the new period. A survey on this subject was conducted at the Xinglong Village in Jianyang County, Sichuan. Nearly half of the party members in the village were of the opinion: In the past, to play an exemplary vanguard role, one had only to "be the first to go to work and the last to stop work, do a good job in applying fertilizer and cause no problem for the team leader." Nowadays, a good party member is one who "fulfills his farming contract, takes the lead in paying taxes and does not break the law or discipline." There is no need for party members to interfere with the masses' affairs.

The survey shows that in the new situation of opening to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy, some party members are making rightist misinterpretations of the policies for the new period, obsessed with individualist ideas and filled with desire for private property. Disregarding moral principles in pursuit of profit and putting money above everything else, they want only to get rich and make money by fair means or foul.

## 2. Impurities in work style have seriously alienated some party members and cadres from the masses.

The survey shows that undemocratic behavior is rather common among party members, particularly cadres. Some are coercive and mess things up by giving wrong orders. Some make false reports and exaggerated claims, even if it violates the law and discipline. To some grassroots cadres, the only economic means to deal with a problem is to impose a fine, and they do so at every conceivable opportunity. People are being fined when they should be educated or otherwise dealt with according to law. Fines are levied for all kinds of reasons, some of which are weird and unheard-of.

Attention should be paid to the fact that the habit of lying, boasting and exaggeration is again spreading in some places. Of 39 villages surveyed in Sichuan, Jilin, Jiangsu, Jiangxi and Beijing, 11 made false reports on their grain output, adding 6.3 percent to the actual yield. To be sure, the occurrence of these bad practices cannot be blamed entirely on the grassroots cadres because they generally involve the leadership at higher levels. Seven villages in Ningxia revealed that they were instructed by higher authorities to report their grain output according to figure decided for them in an overall plan, and that they had no choice but to comply. Cadres often resort to coercion or issue arbitrary orders in the same way.

The masses of peasants react most strongly against party members and cadres using their power for personal gain. Many party members and cadres use their

position and power to make a profit in signing contracts, fixing prices for means of production to be sold to households, arranging for relatives to work in town and township enterprises, approving loan applications, or purchases of agricultural supplies at low prices.

Moreover, in some places, financial management is chaotic, books are not in order and records are incomplete. Some have never published a balance sheet to the public since the implementation of the output-related contract system, giving the unscrupulous an opportunity to engage in fraudulent practices. Cases of destruction or loss of formerly collectively owned property, graft and embezzlement are quite common. All this is detrimental to the development of the cooperative economy and seriously hampering the improvement of relations between cadres and the masses.

Owing to impurities in ideology, organizations and work style, the party's image in the rural areas has been seriously sullied.

It should be pointed out that the places selected for this rural socio-economic survey are generally villages with a rather solid foundation. If this is the way the grassroots organizations are in these selected places, it is no hard to imagine how it is elsewhere. The seriousness of the situation is obvious. Although the problems take place at the grassroots level, the main cause is the slackening of leadership by party and government organizations at higher levels over political and ideological work in the rural areas in the new period. It is the unanimous opinion of the localities that it is urgently necessary to consolidate and improve the primary rural party organizations and improve the quality of party members and cadres. At present, in conjunction with the party consolidation in the rural areas, it is necessary to educate all party members on the party's principles, policies, ideals, discipline and goals to help them understand the party's basic tasks in the rural areas in the new period, adapt their thinking and style to the needs of the new period and know how to play their role after the party shifted the focus of its rural work. It is necessary to educate party members engaged in business with hired hands to develop in the direction cooperative economy. In order to strengthen the cadre force, it is necessary to continue to readjust and assign new members to the grassroots-level leading bodies in accordance with the requirements that cadres should become "more revolutionary, younger, better educated and professionally more competent,"

Attention should be paid to selecting people with political consciousness, culture and administrative and management ability from among the educated young people in the rural areas for promotion into grassroots-level leading bodies. It is also necessary to encourage exchanges between cadres at higher and lower levels. Promising members of higher organizations should be sent to the grassroots level in a planned way for them to be tempered in actual work. Many localities suggested that it is necessary to conduct a rotational training of principal grassroots-level rural cadres by stage and in groups over a period of 2-3 years, so that through reeducation they can increase their understanding of the party's policies, the commodity economy and the cooperative economy. After implementation of the output-related household

contract responsibility system, the money needed to pay those cadres who are also engaged in production work should be collected from every household. In some places, the money cannot be collected, and the cadres cannot get paid year after year. This not only affects the relationship between the cadres and the masses, but dampens the cadres' enthusiasm in work. This is also a problem that needs to be solved. Quite a number of localities have suggested that funds be raised under a unified plan by the county or the township. It has also been suggested that the pay for these cadres be included in the budgets of the province and the county, each bearing one half of the burden. Finally, another task which requires attention and efforts in the rural areas is the settlement of those who have retired as cadres but not from production work.

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OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS IN RURAL PARTY CONSOLIDATION DISCUSSED

Beijing NONGCUN GONGZUO TONGXUN [RURAL WORK NEWSLETTER] in Chinese No 6,  
5 Jun 86 p 11

[Article by staff commentator: "The Emphasis in Rural Party Consolidation Should Be Placed on Solving Outstanding Problems"]

[Text] Since the Central Commission for Guiding Party Consolidation issued the circular on rural party consolidation planning in November last year, rural party consolidation is being set in motion in all parts of the country. The development looks good. Experience in party consolidation at the district and township levels in some places shows that to do a good job in consolidating rural party organizations, it is necessary to further clarify several questions in thinking and work guidance.

First, it should be made clear that in rural party consolidation, the emphasis should be placed on solving outstanding problems among party cadres at the district, township and village levels, and not on solving problems of a general nature among the rank and file. By making this clear, we will have grasped the key to rural party consolidation and will be able to avoid "leftist" or rightist errors. In solving the outstanding problems among party cadres, we must adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts and must not require "everyone to make a self-criticism so as to pass the test."

Second, after the emphasis is known, it is also necessary to make clear what the outstanding problems are with the party cadres. The problems are mainly with the cadres at the district, township and village levels who have committed serious mistakes by using their power to seek personal gain or otherwise violating the law and discipline. These are problems the people inside and outside the party are most concerned and complaining about. If they are not solved or solved improperly, they will continue to affect seriously the relationship between the party and the masses and between the cadres and the masses and continue to damage seriously the party's image and dampen the masses' enthusiasm for building a new socialist countryside. Of course, the minor cases of using one's power to seek personal gain and cases of bureaucracy should be solved too during the party consolidation. If the serious problems among party cadres are solved first to set an example, it will be easy to solve the similar problems among party members in general.



Concrete manifestations of serious mistakes made by party cadres differ from place to place. We must proceed from reality and solve whatever problems there are. Regarding the party cadres proven to have committed serious mistakes in using their power for personal gain and violated the law and discipline, it is imperative that they be dealt with in all seriousness according to party discipline and the law and on the basis of thorough investigations. In seriously investigating and handling their cases, the purpose is also to help them break with their past, correct their mistakes and make a fresh start. Party cadres and party members who have made mistakes of a general character are mainly a question of summing up experience and drawing a lesson. They should be helped through positive education to increase their understanding. So long as they recognize their mistakes and make a self-criticism, they are all right, and they should be encouraged to cast away their mental burdens, march forward without worry and make more contributions to rural reform and economic development.

Third, it should be made clear how to consolidate the party. Basically rural party consolidation can be divided into two stages. The first is to conduct education on party spirit. It is necessary to educate the vast numbers of party members and cadres on the party's purpose, the criteria of party members, ideals and discipline, the current situation and the party's fine traditions in an extensive and deepgoing way by studying documents on party consolidation and attending party lectures. The second is to hold democratic meetings and conduct criticism and self-criticism. The leading bodies and cadres of party organizations at the district, township and village levels should take the lead in making the democratic meetings a success. They should also hold discussion meetings with both party and nonparty people, listen to their opinions and criticisms and welcome them to expose problems. Party organizations at higher levels should send people to attend these meetings. Unless we promote democracy and rely on the masses, we will not be able to fully expose and solve the contradictions and problems. Problems exposed by the masses, including major ones, must be handled on the basis of serious investigations and verification in order to avoid wrong judgment.

Fourth, the importance in strengthening the leading bodies should be made clear. This is a major task for the organizational consolidation of party organizations in the rural areas. During the party consolidation, all those cadres in leading bodies at the district, township and village levels who have committed serious mistakes by using their power to seek personal gain or have seriously violated the law and discipline must be resolutely expelled from the party. Those who fail to uphold the party's principles, fail to wage a struggle against harmful trends, or are incompetent should also be dismissed. It is necessary to promote party members who have a strong sense of party spirit and good work style and are in the prime of life into leading bodies at the district, township and village levels to really increase the primary party organizations' fighting capacity. Thus they will be able to discover and solve problems in good time on the way ahead.

It is also necessary to make efforts to consolidate and develop the achievements of party consolidation. All party organizations that have been

consolidated should focus their attention on continuing to rectify the party style and strengthen education of party members on party spirit, and they should make vigorous efforts to consolidate and develop the results achieved in consolidating the party ideologically, organizationally and in work style and discipline. At the same time, they should step up the continuing development of the party ideologically, organizationally and in work style, promote the development of the socialist spiritual civilization and help bring about a fundamental turn for the better in party style and social conduct.

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PREREQUISITES TO DEVELOPING HIGHER EDUCATION DISCUSSED

Beijing JIAOYU YANJIU [EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 3, Mar 86 pp 10-19

[Article by Wang Wenyong [3769 2429 2589]: "A Brief Discussion of the Three Basic Requirements for Developing Regular Higher Education"; first paragraph is source-supplied introduction]

[Text] Synopsis: Many conditions must be met in order to develop regular higher education; a supply of students, qualified teachers, and guaranteed material resources are but three basic requirements. Based on the history of our country's higher education, its present conditions, and the prospective needs of socialist modernization construction, this article makes a concrete analysis of the aforementioned basic requirement and also makes a comparison with other countries where higher education is relatively well developed. We conclude that at present our regular higher education does not meet the three basic requirements uniformly. The source of students is relatively rich and there is latent teaching capacity, although we should not make simple comparisons with other nations, and we should also be aware of the possible shortage of teachers in the 1990's. However, the material resources needed for setting up schools are in short supply and the shortage of school buildings is especially acute. We must be realistic about the situation in our country, consider our country's ability to increase capital construction investment and operating outlays, and slow down the rate of expansion of regular higher educational undertakings accordingly.

At present the scope of our general higher education is limited and is incompatible with the socialist modernization constructions' needs. How to accelerate its development has become a major issue and many people have advanced various suggestions and ideas.

Many requirements must be met in order to develop general higher education, requirements like leadership, school leading groups, qualified teachers, teaching materials, books and reference materials, a supply of students, school building equipment and operating funds, and so on. In this article, we shall analyze and study only the three basic requirements: the supply of students, the availability of qualified teachers, and the guarantee of material resources.

To develop regular education we must be equipped to meet the aforementioned basic requirements, and we must comprehensively maintain a minimum balance

of the three conditions. If we meet only one or two requirements and forge ahead blindly without considering the other provision, we will be put on the defensive and not be able to satisfy our goal of providing more and better-qualified personnel. Looking back on the past 36 years, we have experienced shortages of students and qualified teachers and met with problems of shortages of school buildings and operating funds. These events affected the availability and quality of higher education adversely. We must sum up and learn from past experiences and try to balance the three basic needs to the best of our ability so that regular higher education can develop positively and steadily.

#### I. Supply of Students

The main source of students in the regular colleges and universities is the regular high schools. To establish good institutions of higher learning a certain proportion of regular high school graduates is needed in order to guarantee the supply of students. The ratio of regular high school graduates to regular college and university recruits since the founding of the country is listed in Table 1 below:

Table 1.

<u>Year</u>	<u>High School Graduates (in thousands)</u>	<u>College Recruits (in thousands)</u>	<u>Ratio</u>
1949	61.40	30.6	2.01
1950	62.20	58.30	1.07
1951	58.80	51.70	1.14
1952	36.00	78.90	0.46
1953	56.20	81.50	0.69
1954	67.90	92.30	0.74
1955	99.00	97.80	1.01
1956	153.60	184.60	0.83
1957	187.10	105.60	1.77
1958	197.40	265.60	0.74
1959	299.70	274.10	1.09
1960	288.30	323.20	0.89
1961	379.40	169.00	2.24
1962	441.50	106.80	4.13
1963	433.00	132.80	3.26
1964	366.80	147.00	2.50
1965	360.40	164.20	2.19
1966	280.10	-	-
1967	268.20	-	-
1968	793.80	-	-
1969	380.20	-	-
1970	675.50	-	-
1971	1,004.40	42.40	23.69
1972	2,159.10	133.60	16.16
1973	3,494.40	150.00	23.30
1974	4,178.90	165.10	25.31

Table 1 (cont.)

<u>Year</u>	<u>High School Graduates (in thousands)</u>	<u>College Recruits (in thousands)</u>	<u>Ratio</u>
1975	4,470.30	190.80	23.43
1976	5,172.20	217.00	23.84
1977	5,858.30	273.00	21.46
1978	6,826.90	401.50	17.00
1979	7,265.40	275.10	26.41
1980	6,161.50	281.20	21.91
1981	4,861.20	278.80	17.44
1982	3,105.70	315.10	9.86
1983	2,350.90	390.80	6.02
1984	1,898.40	475.20	3.99

During the 12 years between 1949 and 1960 regular higher education developed at a relatively fast pace and twice there were drastic increases and sudden drops in recruitment. Within the same period expansion of regular high schools was slower and steadier but was unable to supply the colleges and universities with a sufficient number of students. Out of the 12 years there were 6 when the number of high school graduates was below that of college recruits for the corresponding year, and especially in 1952, the ratio of high school graduates to college recruits was 0.46:1, which was the lowest since the founding of the country. Under the circumstances, many colleges and universities were forced to recruit young workers and other young people in the community. As for the remaining 6 years, although the number of high school graduates exceeded the number of college recruits, the ratio of high school graduates to college recruits barely exceeded 1:1, with the exception of the years 1949 and 1957, when the ratios were 2.01:1 and 1.77:1, respectively. Under the circumstances, because there was no guarantee in the supply of students, it was impossible for the colleges and universities to expand. Moreover, because fewer students applied and more were admitted (the rate of admission was higher), standards were lowered, and therefore there was less assurance that the new students were qualified. This had an adverse effect on the quality of higher education. In the 5 years, between 1961 and 1965, the situation improved; there were 3 years in which the ratio of high school graduates to college recruits exceeded 2 to 1; one year it reached 3.26:1, and another year it even reached 4.13:1. This allowed the colleges and universities to be more selective, and only those students who truly qualified were accepted.

During the "Cultural Revolution" many technical secondary schools were shut down while the regular high schools lowered their standards and expanded blindly. That created an irrationally homogeneous secondary school education system. In the 13-year period between 1967 and 1979 regular high schools annually recruited 93-99 percent of all senior middle school candidates. During the years between 1974 and 1981 regular high schools graduated from 4 million to as many as over 7 million students a year. In 1977 the regular colleges and universities resumed the system of national entrance examinations

and in the next 5 years, until 1981, only 200,000 to 300,000 new students were admitted each year among the 3 or 4 million or even 5 to 6 million applicants. The percentage of regular high school graduates admitted to the regular colleges and universities ranged from 3.79 percent to 5.88 percent a year: Obviously, there was an ample supply of students to the regular colleges and universities. However, this overabundance of regular high school graduates generated by the homogeneous secondary school education system is not unlike "squeezing an army onto a single-plank bridge." It was neither necessary for the nurturing of talents nor was it conducive to the development of the national economy; it only made the situation more tense for everybody.

In recent years amidst reforms in the secondary education system, through consolidations, the scale of regular high schools has been reduced, a portion of the regular high schools has been converted to vocational high schools, and secondary vocational and technical education has been expanded. At present the number of regular high school graduates has dropped to about 2 million a year; compared to the number of college recruits for the corresponding years, the ratio has dropped to about 5:1. Compared to the 1960's, this ratio still seems high. In the future, with the continuous expansion of regular colleges and universities, special attention should be paid to maintaining the size of the regular high schools. Preferably, the ratio of regular high school graduates to college recruits should be maintained at 3:1. This ratio ensures that the regular colleges will have an ample supply of new students, and it also leaves room for them to be more selective and ensures the standards of the new students.

## II. Availability of Qualified Teachers

In 1984 there were 1,853,400 college students of different kinds (including 47,900 graduate students, 1,395,700 undergraduates, 44,000 short-course students, 40,200 continuing-education students, 3,100 foreign students, 3,400 students taking preparatory courses, 243,600 correspondence students, and 75,500 in evening colleges) and 315,000 full-time teachers. The teacher-student ratio was 1:5.88. This is higher than the 1:8.88 ratio in Great Britain (figure applies to the universities in 1979), 1:8.61 in the Federal Republic of Germany (1979), 1:18.16 in Japan (1980), 1:16.40 in the United States (1978), and 1:13.30 in the Soviet Union (1979). This ratio is also higher than the 6:6.29 ratio during the First 5-year Plan period when conditions in our country were relatively normal. There is ample potential in teacher capacity. If we can take appropriate measures to reduce the teacher-student ratio we can expand student enrollment without increasing the number of teachers, or we can increase it at a lower rate. However, exact latent teacher capacity cannot be ascertained without analyzing the differences in the conditions in this country and in other countries. We should not make judgments based on simple comparisons. The main factors contributing to the higher teacher-student ratio in the regular colleges and universities in this country relative to other countries are as follows:

1. Differences in the composition of student enrollment. At present the majority of the students in our regular colleges and universities are

graduate and undergraduate students; correspondence students, evening college students, continuing-education students, and short-course students as well as foreign students are in the minority. In 1980 among the 1,414,900 students, 1,161,400 or 82.09 percent were undergraduate or graduate students and 253,500 or 17.91 percent were correspondence students, evening college students, students taking refresher courses or short courses, and foreign students. Although correspondence and evening college students require less of the teacher's time, there were only 202,400 of them, comprising 14.31 percent of the total enrollment. By 1984 the total enrollment increased to 1,853,400, but there were only 319,100, or 17.22 percent, correspondence and evening college students. In the United States and the Soviet Union, college enrollment figures include a large number of students who do not attend school full time. For example, in 1982 in the United States, of 12,358,000 registered college students, only 58.3 percent attended school full time; 41.7 percent were part-time students taking a few credits. In 1981 in the Soviet Union, of 5,284,000 college students, there were 3,011,000, or 57 percent, day school students and 2,273,000, or 43 percent, evening college and correspondence students.

Because in the United States, the Soviet Union, and other countries a significant proportion of the total college and university enrollment is made up of correspondence students, evening college students, or part-time students whose need for teacher supervision is significantly less than the full-time, whole-day student, therefore their teacher-student ratio is lower. In this country, the proportion of correspondence students, evening college students, and part-time students is small, and therefore the teacher-student ratio is high. In addition, the United States and the Soviet Union as well as other countries, the teacher-student ratio is based on total enrollment, including full-time undergraduates, graduates and correspondence students, evening college students, and part-time students. But in this country the teacher-student ratio often includes only undergraduates in general and professional studies and graduate students, but excludes correspondence students, evening college students, continuing-education students and short-course students, and foreign students; in some cases, even graduate students are excluded. Therefore, the teacher-student ratio is relatively high and does not reveal the true picture. For example, in 1984 there were 315,000 full-time teachers, and if we figure only undergraduate students in general and professional studies, the teacher-student ratio is 1:4.43; however, if we figure in the total enrollment of 1,853,400 the ratio will drop to 1:5.88.

2. Differences in composition of the contingent of teachers. First, most of our college faculty are full-time teachers, and a few are part time. For example, in 1980 the number of part-time teachers equaled 4.26 percent of full-time teachers. In other countries a large proportion of the teachers are part-time teachers. For example, in 1980 in the United States, there were 496,000 full-time teachers and 350,000 part-time teachers, the latter being 70.56 percent of the former. In 1982 in Japan there were 107,400 full-time teachers and 70,700 part-time teachers; the latter is 65.83 percent of the former. Also, in the Japanese junior colleges there were 16,900 full-time teachers and 24,700 part-time teachers, the latter being 146.15 percent of the former. The teaching load of a part-time teacher is much



lighter than that of a full-time teacher, and if we figure only full-time teachers and exclude part-time teachers in calculating the teacher-student ratio, we are not reflecting the true picture.

Second, our regular college faculty is ranked from professors, assistant professors, and lecturers to teaching assistants. In 1984 among the 315,000 full-time teachers, there were 113,900 teaching assistants, comprising 36.17 percent of the total faculty. In Great Britain, the United States, and other countries, there is no teaching assistant post. Graduate students, continuing-education students, and upperclassmen serve to assist and tutor the undergraduates. With the teaching assistant rank, the teacher-student ratio is higher than otherwise.

3. Differences in teacher administration systems. Teacher administrations in our regular colleges and universities are inadequate and we do not have a scientific system. In implementing the system of teacher appointment and in determining the teachers' duties, assignments, and promotions, there is no precise and scientific set of specific regulations or means of evaluation. Once the teachers are appointed, they have life-time tenure; they can choose to work more or work less: some "professors do not profess and lecturers do not lecture." This system enables those who lack teaching skills, who lack ability, and who have low academic standards and even those who have no qualifications to remain in the contingent of teachers forever. Many countries practice the system of teacher engagement instead. There are specific requirements on the qualifications of the teachers at every level, there are also strict standards and procedures for applying for and obtaining certification and employment as teachers, and there are precise and scientific supervision and evaluation of the teacher's duties, assignments, and promotions. Those who are not qualified are dismissed and eliminated. These measures guarantee the proficiency of the contingent of teachers so that all those employed as teachers can manifest their abilities fully.

4. Differences in professional qualifications among the contingent of teachers. A breakdown of the academic qualifications of the teachers shows that in 1984, among all college teachers only 6.94 percent had graduate training, but as many as 78.68 percent completed college education, and 12.20 percent graduated from professional schools; 2.18 percent had 2 years of college education or less. After the founding of our nation, we did not promptly set up an academic degree system (the "Document on Academic Degrees in the People's Republic of China [Draft]" was promulgated in 1980), and therefore few teachers have academic degrees. In 1984 only 1,203, or 0.38 percent, of the faculty had Ph.D. degrees, and 9,865 teachers, or 3.13 percent, had master's degrees; therefore, only 3.51 percent of all teachers had postgraduate degrees. On the other hand, a breakdown of the teachers' academic ranks shows that in 1984, among all teachers only 1.41 percent were professors, 8.96 percent were assistant professors, 43.38 percent were lecturers, 10.08 percent had an unspecified rank, and as many as 36.17 percent were teaching assistants. Not only is the proportion of professors and assistant professors lower than in other countries, it is far below the proportion in the early years of the founding of the country (in 1950 the figure was 43.25 percent). Because at present our method of evaluating

academic ranks is not yet fully on track, the present ranks of the faculty may not fully reflect their qualifications. However, the fact that there are far too few professors and assistant professors cannot be changed in the near future.

In the countries where higher education is better developed, there is a higher proportion of teachers with postgraduate qualifications and who have Ph.D. or master's degrees. For example, in 1972 in the United States among all college teachers, 40.8 percent had a Ph.D. degree and 44.9 percent had a master's degree, together comprising 85.7 percent; 4.9 percent had a bachelor's degree and only 1.3 percent had a lesser or no degree. The background of the other 8.1 percent is unknown. Teachers in community colleges in the United States are generally required to have a master's degree. In 1980 among the 238,800 community college teachers, 75 percent had a master's degree and 14 percent had a Ph.D. degree, totaling 89 percent. In France professors and lecturers in the colleges and universities are required to have an accredited Ph.D. degree. In 1981 in Japan, among the college and university teachers, 42.6 percent had gone through a Ph.D. or master's degree program, and 49.6 percent were college graduates. In these countries the proportion of high-ranking faculty members is also higher. For example, in 1976 of all college teachers in the United States, 23 percent were professors and 24 percent were assistant professors, making a total of 47 percent; another 27 percent were assistant professors and 26 percent were instructors or others. In 1982 of the 124,300 full-time faculty in Japan's national colleges and junior colleges, 33.83 percent were professors and 23.53 percent were assistant professors, or a total of 57.36 percent; another 15.02 percent were lecturers and 27.62 percent were teaching assistants.

It is apparent that considering the teachers' academic qualifications and their academic ranks, the professional standard of the contingent of teachers in this country lags behind that of countries where higher education is better developed. This is reflected in our educational standards and efficiency, which in turn affect the teacher-student ratio.

5. Differences in social conditions. College and university teachers are advanced mental workers. Their working hours are not confined to the usual 8-hour period, they work all the time. At present, our wage system is keeping the earnings of the mental workers at an unreasonably low rate. In addition, our third-line industry is not yet full developed, and therefore teachers, especially the middle-aged teachers who are the backbone of education and scientific research, are burdened with housework, too. According to survey, the middle-aged teachers spend at least 3 hours a day on housework, leaving them with less time to spend on teaching or research outside the regular 8 hours.

In other countries the wages of the college teacher are higher and the tertiary industry is well developed. Teachers do not have to spend as much time on housework. In some countries married women do not customarily work outside the home. With the women taking care of domestic chores, male teachers can devote more time to teaching or research.

In addition to the aforementioned main differences, our colleges and universities are less specialized: There is more small class tutoring than mass lectures, teaching methods stress inculcation, and teachers are burdened with nonspecialized work. These factors also contribute to the high teacher-student ratio.

At present the teacher-student ratio in our regular colleges and universities is not uniform: It varies significantly among regions, schools, and disciplines, and we should not generalize. Take the 1984 ratio of teachers to full-time and professional school students as an example: The ratio in the normal schools was 1:5.66, compared to 1:4.69 in the universities and 1:3.99 in the science and engineering colleges and 1:2.56 in the language and literature schools. Among the normal schools, the ratio was 1:7.02 in Gansu Province, but as high as 1:3.88 in the Urumqi Autonomous Region in Xingjiang. Even within the same institution, there are major differences in teacher-student ratios among the disciplines and between basic courses and specialized fields. For example, a breakdown of the 1984 teacher-student ratio according to discipline at a key university (the student figure includes regular and professional school undergraduates and graduate students) shows that the ratios in law and computer science are 1:9.23 and 1:8.88, respectively, but the ratio reached 1:3.12 and 1:1.10 in psychology and Russian language, respectively. As far as the imbalance in availability of qualified teachers among regions and individual institutions is concerned, proper policies can induce the desirable flow of personnel and tap the latent potential; however, the imbalance in teaching capacity between general studies and professional fields cannot be corrected that easily.

The above analyses demonstrate that we must proceed from our own realistic situations, analyze and assess the latent teaching capacity in our regular colleges and universities realistically and practically, and take measures to change the irrational phenomena in existence. People say that we have ample latent teaching capacity in our regular colleges and universities and that we can double the size of our enrollment without training more teachers. I think this assessment is unrealistic.

In order to maintain steady growth in higher education, even if there are certain latent capacities, we must continue to replenish them with young teachers. In the 6 years between 1978 and 1984 student enrollment in colleges and universities rose from 864,700 to 1,853,400, which is a 114.34 percent increase or an annual rate of increase of 13.55 percent. Within the same period, the number of full-time teachers increased from 206,300 to 315,000, which is a 52.69 percent increase, averaging 7.31 percent per year. The rate of increase in the number of teachers was far below that of students and the teacher-student ratio fell from 1:4.19 to 1:5.88. These unequal rates of increase must not be allowed to persist. From now on, when the teacher-student ratio drops to a certain level, we must maintain equal rates of increase between teachers and students.

We should note that due to historical reasons, the age distribution of the contingent of college teachers is bell-shaped and is unhealthy.

According to the October 1983 census, the age distribution is as follows:

<u>Age</u>	<u>Number of Teachers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
21-25	22,882 [sic]	7.52
26-35	6,143	21.40
36-45	70,529	23.17
46-55	114,709	37.69
56-65	25,419	8.35
66-75	5,677	1.87

During the 17 years from 1984 to 2000, the 140,000 teachers who are now over 46 years old will be retiring in succession. Some middle-aged teachers may resign even sooner due to poor health. Only 160,000 of the existing teaching force will remain. If by the end of the century total student enrollment should reach 5 million, at a teacher-student ratio of 1:8 we will need 625,000 teachers: In addition to the remaining 160,000 teachers, we need another 460,000 teachers between 1984 and 2000, an average rate of increase of 27,000 per year. But in the 6 years between 1979 and 1984 there was an increase of only 108,000 teachers, an average of 18,100 per year. Therefore, we must accelerate the rate of increase in the number of teachers to avoid a teacher shortage in the 1990's.

### III. Guarantee of Material Resources

According to regulations in our present planning and management system, the material resources needed in the regular colleges and universities can be divided into two categories: One category is capital construction investment which includes land, school buildings, and equipment with a per-unit cost of 50,000 yuan or more; the other category is operating funds, which include wages, financial aid (scholarships), books and reference materials, any equipment costing 50,000 yuan or less per unit, and other consumer expenditures. Without the guarantee of these material resources, it will be impossible to set up and maintain good schools.

Over an extended period in the past, guided by the faulty "leftist" ideology that led erroneously to a disparagement of education and discrediting of intellectuals, the educational capital construction investment and operating funds planned by the country fell far short of the need to develop educational undertakings. The colleges and universities were constantly plagued by shortages of material resources. After the crushing of the "gang of four," and since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party Central Committee and the State Council have emphasized repeatedly the significant role and function of educational undertakings in the national economy. The party's 12th National Congress defined educational undertakings as one of the key strategies for developing the national economy and declared its intention to increase educational investment and spending gradually. In recent years the country has increased educational investment and operating funds considerably, and the regular colleges and universities have benefitted from these increases. With the exception of an isolated year, the annual percentage increases in capital construction investment and in

operating funds in the regular colleges and universities are higher than the percentage increases in national basic-construction investment and total national spending for every year (see Tables 2 and 3). However, we should note that those increases still fall short of the actual needs of the educational undertakings. Many problems bequeathed by past inadequate investment and funding are unresolved today. These factors are the main obstacles to expanding the regular colleges and universities.

Table 2.

Investment unit: billion yuan

Year	National Basic-construction Investment				National Higher Education Investment			
	Grand Total		Budgeted		Total		Budgeted	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
1976	37.644	-8.03	31.093	-7.35	0.110	-3.38	0.106	-1.64
1977	38.237	1.58	31.235	0.46	0.115	4.55	0.111	4.72
1978	50.099	31.02	41.737	33.62	0.334	190.43	0.317	185.59
1979	52.348	4.49	41.857	0.29	0.684	104.79	0.638	101.26
1980	55.889	6.76	34.927	-16.56	0.900	31.58	0.805	26.18
1981	44.291	-20.75	25.156	-27.98	0.982	9.11	0.865	7.45
1982	55.553	25.43	27.667	9.98	1.058	7.74	0.970	12.14
1983	59.413	6.95	34.576	24.97	1.393	31.66	1.349	39.07
1984	74.300	25.06	40.395	16.83	1.792	28.64	1.667	23.57

Key:

- (1) Absolute Amount
- (2) Percentage Increase Over Previous Year

Table 3.

Investment unit: billion yuan

Year	Total National Spending		Higher Education Spending		Student Enrollment	
	Amount	Percent	Amount	Percent	Number	Percent
	(Billion)	Increase	(Billion)	Increase	(10,000)	Increase
1976	80.620	-1.79	0.803	12.15	56.47	12.72
1977	84.353	4.63	0.825	2.86	62.53	10.73
1978	111.095	31.70	1.163	40.80	86.47	38.28
1979	127.394	14.67	1.640	41.01	106.24	22.86
1980	121.273	-4.80	1.913	16.65	141.49	33.17
1981	111.497	-8.06	2.228	16.47	157.35	11.22
1982	115.331	3.44	2.386	7.09	143.89	-8.56
1983	129.245	12.06	2.749	15.21	158.85	10.39
1984	-	-	3.273	19.06	185.34	16.68

A major aspect of capital construction investment is the construction of school buildings. Since the founding of the nation, regular colleges and universities have been growing but the construction of school buildings has not kept pace with increased enrollment, the schools face endless severe

shortages of building facilities. This situation is the result of the failure of the investment programs for basic construction to accommodate the actual needs of the colleges and universities. On the one hand, when we determine the annual investment in the schools, we only consider the actual increase in enrollment for the current year without trying to satisfy basically the actual needs of the schools as the result of the increased enrollment. When the national economy was being developed, education and other cultural undertakings were asked to overcome difficulties, yield to key industrial constructions, and cope with little or no increased educational investment. When the national economy was in trouble, when there was a need to consolidate and cut down on the scale of basic construction, investment in education and other cultural undertakings was again the first to be cut. In the 1950's and the early 1960's, the colleges and universities were already experiencing an acute shortage of school buildings. During the "Cultural Revolution," not only were few new buildings added because the nation planned very little investment in the regular colleges and universities, but also many school buildings were appropriated by other units. Even today over 1.4 million square meters have yet to be returned to the schools. After the "gang of four" was crushed, the regular colleges and universities expanded their enrollment each year, and in 1984 student enrollment reached 1,534,400 (excluding correspondence and evening college students); compared to the 700,600 students in 1965, enrollment has increased by 833,800 students. Although the country has increased its capital construction investment considerably, and in the 9-year period between 1976 and 1984 to total capital outlay reached 7,368,000,000 yuan, the increase still fell short of the needs resulting from the expansion: At best the national investments were meeting 70 percent of the actual needs. Therefore, the shortage of school buildings remained a problem. Normally, whether it is an item of industrial or communication construction, or whether it is a commercial, service, scientific research, cultural, or public health project, people arrange for sufficient investments and wait until the project is completed before putting it to use. However, the construction of school buildings is an exception: Investment planning is often insufficient, and whether the construction is completed or not, schools must open in September. On the other hand, the annual capital construction investment plans for the regular colleges and universities are based on enrollment increases for the current year. This creates the passive situation where we make investment plans, design school buildings, commence construction, and finish the project within the same year. Since the school year begins in September, the new school buildings needed for that school year should be completed by the end of July at the latest to allow a month's time to get them ready for use in early September. Therefore, from the time investment plans are finalized until the beginning of the school year, there are at most 7 months to complete the construction work. Up north, where severe winter weather prevents construction work, there is even less time. In general, it is difficult to complete these school buildings within a few months, and oversized and structurally complicated school buildings often require 2 to 3 years; to complete them in a few months' time is an impossibility. This often forces the schools to open in September without the needed school buildings. Many new buildings intended for 1 year are completed and put to use 2 or 3 years later; meanwhile, the schools must come up with emergency measures to deal with the



surplus students year after year. In recent years the nation has adopted a policy whereby a portion of the investment money is allocated 6 months in advance. This has some positive effects on the pressure to do everything in 1 year. However, the decisions to allocate these funds often come late in the year, and few investments are actually completed. Therefore, the results are not distinct.

With the few exceptions of the institutions affiliated with the industrial departments, this situation where basic construction investment plans are incompatible with the actual needs remains in the vast majority of the colleges and universities. Even for many department- and committee-affiliated institutions, including the key colleges and universities, although planned investments have increased significantly in recent years, the increase in new school buildings still lags behind the increase in enrollment, and all schools are experiencing varying degrees of shortages of school buildings. A shortage of classrooms, crammed libraries, and lack of laboratories, especially specialized laboratories, are common phenomena. The problem of overcrowded dormitories is acute and widespread: On many campuses the living area per student is only 2.5 square meters. Housing for teachers and staff is another problem: On many campuses over 100 middle-aged and young teachers' families are crammed into the students' dormitories. In recent years, many regions have increased their investments in colleges and universities but other regions are maintaining their investments at the 1978 or slightly higher level despite an increased number of students. For example, in 1985 in a certain province, enrollment in the 29 province-affiliated institutions increased by 8,000 [as published], which called for an investment of 104 million yuan in extra school buildings. However, the actual investment was only 26.2 million yuan, which equals 25 percent of the actual need. Not only was the amount insufficient to tackle old problems, it could not even meet the needs of the current year. Year after year, new debts begin to mount before old debts are paid off. There is no latent capacity in school buildings in the colleges and universities, and with very few exceptions, most campuses are experiencing an acute shortage of school buildings.

In order to reconcile the contradiction between low investment in school buildings and the expansion of higher education, many people suggest the broad implementation of the day school system. Under our present social conditions, how broadly can the day school system be practiced is something that requires serious analysis. At present, the scope of our higher education is limited; the distribution of regular colleges and universities, especially those with higher standards, is uneven; many specialized studies are offered in a few selected sites across the nation; and the development of the local elementary schools and regular high schools is uneven. These complicated factors force most department- and committee-affiliated institutions and some specialized disciplines of a few local institutions to recruit students nationally or over a wide region. Regional institutions recruit students basically in their own province, autonomous region, or municipality or in their own vicinities. It is not possible, nor is it fair, to require all institutions to recruit within their own cities. The people's government has the obligation to provide an equal opportunity for all high school graduates, including those in the villages, small towns, and



medium-size or small cities where there are no regular colleges and universities, so that all who are qualified will have a chance to further their studies. Even in those cities where there are regular colleges and universities, the high school graduates may want to meet the needs of the country, or consider their own interests in certain professions, and do not choose to enroll in one of the local schools. They should be allowed to apply elsewhere. Therefore, it is inappropriate to limit the territory of college recruitment just for the sake of promoting the day school system.

It is equally problematic for institutions in large cities to implement the day school system: Although these institutions recruit local students, they often cover a vast area, and the students have different interests in their studies or there may be transportation problems. Take the municipality of Beijing as an example: The municipality-affiliated institution's recruitment territory includes the metropolitan area, the suburbs, and the outlying counties. Students who live in the outlying counties cannot attend day school. Those who live in the city or the suburbs may live too far from campus, and by public transportation or bicycle it may take over an hour to get back and forth; they cannot attend day school. In addition, higher education is specialized education, unlike basic education in elementary and middle schools where students attend the nearest schools. If a student lives near an industrial school but is not interested in engineering, he may choose to go away to attend law school or normal school. Therefore, there are problems in requiring all students to attend day school. As for the affiliated colleges of the provinces and autonomous regions, their recruitment territory includes a whole province or region, and the scope is even broader and even less likely to require all students to be day students. Only those institutions located in large or medium-size cities and which offer general professional training and recruit only local students can implement a comprehensive day school system.

To promote the day school system under present conditions, the schools can deny accommodations for students who live close to the school or within an hour's commute each way. In addition, efforts have to be spent in two areas: First, in order to shorten commuting time, the municipal administration office has to improve public transportation, or the schools have to provide school bus services. If we limit the commuting to 1 hour each way, raising the speed limit on the roads will enable more students to attend day school. Second, the municipal administration office should build and manage student apartments and rent them to students whose homes are far away; they can also recruit residents near the campuses to rent out rooms or beds to the students.

On the average, the regular college and universities allow about 40 square meters of space for each resident student; this includes rooms for teaching and administration, student activities, and teacher and staff activities. By implementing the day school system, we can reduce 6 square meters of dormitory space for each day student. Since they still have to eat lunch at school, we cannot deduct the cafeteria space nor can we deduct the required space for classrooms, laboratories, libraries, administrative offices, and teacher and staff activity areas. Some people suggest that under the day

school system the colleges can provide only 15 square meters of building space per student; that suggestion is unrealistic. If the day students live close to campus and require no dormitories or city-sponsored student apartments, then we save the investment on 6 square meters of dormitory space per student. If the day students live far from campus, the school may save on the investment in dormitory construction but the city will have to invest in student apartments. For the country as a whole, there are no investment savings, only a different channel of investment; the only benefit lies in the socialization of the construction and management of student dormitories. Therefore, when we promote the day school system we must consider the overall plan for society as a whole. We must not push the issue by withholding investment in education on the one hand and leave the problems of improving transportation and providing and managing student apartments--problems which are thrust up to the municipal administration office--unattended on the other hand.

As far as operating funds are concerned, prolonged inadequate funding for higher education in the past has left many problems. During the "Cultural Revolution" many school buildings, books and reference materials, teaching and research facilities, and even everyday furniture were badly damaged. Operating funds now must develop various undertakings on the one hand and deal with these leftover problems on the other hand. In recent years, although the country has increased funding for higher education considerably, we still cannot satisfy these needs. From Table 3 we can see that since 1976, with the exception of 1982 when enrollment dropped below the previous year by 8.56 percent, enrollment has increased substantially in each of the 8 years. These rapid expansions call for corresponding increases in operating funds. But out of those 9 years, 3 showed increases in operating funds below the increases in enrollment. For example, in 1980 the number of students increased by 33.17 percent over the previous year but operating funds increased only by 16.65 percent; there were 4 years where increases in operating funds barely kept up with increases in the number of students, and if we take price adjustments into account the increases in operating funds, the funds are actually lower. So only in 2 years did increases in operating funds exceed increases in the number of students. Therefore, the shortage of operating funds in the regular college and university remains a real and present problem.

In recent years the per-student operating expenditure is much higher than before the "Cultural Revolution." However, because of significant changes in the composition and content of these expenditures and the added factor of price adjustments, the increases in spending can hardly satisfy the needs for developing the various undertakings. The National Education Committee's Planning Commission conducted a typical investigation and analysis of six of the committee-affiliated institutions; the increase in various expenditures are itemized in Table 4 below. Among these six institutions, the average annual expenditure per student for the period 1963-65 was 866.47 yuan and for the period 1981-83 the average rose to 2,000.65 yuan; this represents an increase of 1,124.13 yuan or 130.90 percent.

Table 4.

Unit: yuan

Item	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Grand Total	866.47	2,000.65	1,134.18	130.90	100.00
1. Personnel Expenses	472.63	848.65	376.02	79.56	33.15
Wages	324.92	558.35	233.43	71.84	20.58
Subsidies	3.85	84.74	80.89	2,101.04	7.13
Welfare	18.95	50.38	31.43	165.86	2.77
Scholarships	122.69	145.79	23.10	18.83	2.04
Supplementary Pay	2.22	9.39	7.17	322.97	0.63
2. Communal Expenses	393.84	1,152.00	758.16	192.51	66.85
Official Expenses	84.60	172.31	87.71	103.68	7.73
Utilities	134.43	480.13	345.71	257.19	30.48
Repairs	54.47	207.91	153.44	281.70	13.53
Business Expenses	107.97	210.09	102.12	94.58	9.01
Others	12.38	81.56	69.18	558.80	6.10

## Key:

- (1) 1963-65 average operating expense per student per year.
- (2) 1981-83 average operating expense per student per year.
- (3) Absolute increase in latter period over former period.
- (4) Percentage increase in latter period over former period.
- (5) Composition of increase as a percentage of total increase over the period.

Out of the total increase over the two periods, personnel expenses (including wages, subsidies, welfare payments, student financial aids, and supplementary allowances) increased by 79.56 percent; communal expenses (including official business expenses, utilities, repairs, regular business expenses, and others) increased by 192.51 percent. The increase in communal expenses more than doubled that of personnel expenses both in absolute amount and in percentage. However, personnel expenditures constitute only 33.15 percent of the total increase while communal expenses take up 66.85 percent. On the other hand, the percentage of personnel expenses in total expenditures dropped from 54.55 percent [in the first 3-year period] to 42.42 percent [in the second 3-year period]. Among the increases in personnel expenditures, 23 percent were due to additional scientific research organs which expanded their scope of undertakings; 34 percent were due to new expenditures in recent years, expenses like nonstaple food price adjustment subsidies, grain and fuel subsidies, payments to retirees, health insurance subsidies for an only child, and travel allowances for married staff visiting families; and 10 percent of the increase was due to higher expenditure standards. The remaining 33 percent are due to personnel overassignment. This last expenditure is 10.94 percent of the total increase in expenditure. For historical reasons, many institutions are burdened with excess personnel today, but we cannot

attribute the shortage of operating funds in the regular colleges and universities to excess personnel or blame them for depleting the funds.

Among communal expenses, the increase in utility costs was most significant: It increased by 257.19 percent. This is due to the fact that facilities in many institutions have improved significantly in recent years. In the past, the facilities in the teaching and research laboratories were poor, and most pieces of single-item equipment cost a few hundred yuan or a few thousand yuan; few ever cost over 10,000 yuan. At that time only a few key national institutions had low-power electronic microscopes, and few schools were doing research on first-generation or second-generation computers. In recent years, especially since the implementation of the open-door policy, many institutions have established relations abroad and have begun to realize that our higher education no longer measures up to other countries. Concurrent with undoing the damage done by the "Cultural Revolution," the institutions integrate educational reform and renew and replenish teaching and research equipment. Equipment like oscilloscopes, extensometers, and vacuum-coating machines used in only a few departments in the past are used extensively in many departments today. Many low-power apparatuses like spectrosopes and microscopes have been replaced gradually by high-power and sophisticated equipment. New equipment like the electronic analyzers, computers, language laboratory equipment, audio and video-recording equipment, microphotography equipment, and photocopy machines are used extensively today. The single-item purchase price of this equipment can run anywhere between 10,000 or 12,000 to over 100,000 yuan or more and as much as a million yuan. Therefore, expenditures on equipment have increased significantly. In addition, much of this apparatus and equipment must be kept in a constant-temperature, constant-humidity, dust-free, and fireproof environment which in turn requires that the laboratories be equipped with air-conditioning, dehumidifying, and other facilities, which increase repair costs and official business expenses. In addition, more educational experiments are being conducted; there is an increase in international contacts; the standard of expenses also rises; and together with product price adjustments they cause all business and other operating expenses to increase by varying degrees.

Increases in operating funds facilitate improvements in the schools. However, the facilities in the regular colleges and universities still do not meet the standard set in the educational plans. Institutions affiliated with the National Education Committee have some advantages, and on the average they manage to perform 90 percent of the experiments in the basic courses. Even though laboratories for the specialized courses are still under construction, about 70 percent of the experiments are carried out. Most regional institutions, especially the new schools, do not come close to these standards. Whether in the natural sciences or social sciences, the regular colleges and universities have the advantage of being able to offer a full range of courses and programs, they are better equipped and their standards are higher, and they are the frontline army of scientific research. All institutions need to conduct scientific research to raise the teacher's professional standards and improve their teaching abilities. However, funding for scientific research work in the regular colleges and universities historically is limited so that the institutions are unable to make full use

of their scientific research potentials. In addition, the teachers' wages and benefits are still very low. These are the main problems facing the regular colleges and universities. Generally speaking, operating funds are still not meeting the needs for developing various undertakings.

#### IV. A Few Suggestions

From the above analyses we can see that our regular colleges and universities do not meet the three basic requirements uniformly: The supply of students is ample, teacher availability has potential, but there could be shortages in the 1990's if proper precautions are not taken; material resources are grossly inadequate, and a shortage of school buildings is a problem and a major obstacle to developing and improving higher education. Therefore, the rate of expansion of our regular colleges and universities should depend not on the supply of students or potential teaching capacity but on the rate of increase in new buildings, that is to say, it depends on the amount of investment the nation can spend on capital construction in the regular colleges and universities.

The responsibility of higher education is to provide the four modernizations constructions with a variety of qualified personnel and to facilitate national economic growth; however, developments in higher education are in turn subject to the amount of material resources the economy can afford. Therefore, in determining the speed and scope of educational developments, we must accommodate the needs of the four modernizations constructions on the one hand and consider the amount of capital construction investment and operating funds the economy can afford on the other hand, as well as try to integrate these two aspects so that growth in education undertakings is supported fully by increases in material resources. If the national economy cannot afford large increases in material resources, then the regular colleges and universities must slow down the rate of expansion accordingly.

In recent years we have seen rapid developments in the joint-effort and trust system as an alternative method to expand the regular colleges and universities: In addition to recruitments under the government's directives, the units in need of personnel allocate capital construction investment and operating funds and let the regular colleges and universities recruit extra students and tap the latent teaching potential. The schools nurture specialized personnel for the units with specific needs. In this way deficiencies in national capital construction investment and operating funds can be supplemented and more personnel can be nurtured. There are already acute shortages of school buildings and operating funds due to persistent underinvestment and insufficient funding; therefore, under the joint-effort and trust system, the regular colleges and universities must get sufficient investment and funding from the units according to the number of students admitted to avoid aggravating the shortage situation.

Radio and television universities and correspondence and evening colleges are major forms of higher education which also nurture qualified personnel. These institutions of higher learning require less teacher supervision, building space, and operating funds per student than regular colleges and universities.

Since the country is unable to afford more capital construction investment and operating funds in the regular colleges and universities, full-scale expansion of radio and television colleges and correspondence and evening colleges takes on a special significance. These institutions, besides recruiting on-the-job workers, should also recruit high school graduates and young intellectuals waiting for job assignments. This can extend higher education opportunities to more people and at the same time ease the pressure on the regular colleges and universities.

At present, among the professionals in our country, a majority have average or advanced qualifications. In many professions there are more college graduates than technical school graduates, and there are more engineers than technicians. Many advanced professionals are performing jobs that require less specialized skills or no special skill, creating the phenomena where professionals are in short supply and underemployed at the same time. Relatively speaking, the lack of personnel with average training is more acute than those with advance training. However, the regular colleges and universities are recruiting more aggressively than the polytechnics, and the adult higher education institutions more aggressively than the adult polytechnics. These factors are not conducive to improving the disproportion between advanced specialized personnel and those with average training. In the next several years, we should slow down the expansion of the regular colleges and universities and speed up the expansion of the polytechnics to increase the number of mid-level professionals. Only by doing that can we modify the disproportion between the two and create a more logical mix so that the advanced professionals can manifest their abilities fully.

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TEACHING METHODS, EDUCATIONAL IDEOLOGY DISCUSSED

Beijing ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO in Chinese 19 Apr 86 p 3

[Article by Wang Pingshan [3769 1456 1472], lieutenant governor of Guangdong Province: "Major Obstacles to Educational Reform"]

[Text] There are two major obstacles to educational reform and to improvement in the quality of education today. First, the teachers teach but do not educate: teaching methods are simplistic and crude; teachers detest and abandon the slow learners, and they do not understand nor do they care about student psychology. Second, the students are crammed with facts and education is alienated from practice and labor. The former practice hampers and annihilates ideological and political work; the latter obstructs the processes of inspiring the student's thoughts, developing their intelligence, and nurturing their abilities.

At present the phenomena of book-teaching without educating people is prevalent. This situation must be improved. Incidents of crude and simplistic treatment of students are worse than they were before the "Cultural Revolution." During the latter period of the "Cultural Revolution" teachers carried out criticisms of undisciplined students, and this crude approach still stands today. Some of our teachers and school principals do not act like educators; they are not educators: they only teach facts and are not interested in educating students. Very few people in the schools are willing to do ideological and political work, or they are done routinely in a simplistic manner. Once when a teacher happened to see a student picking up a rock on the roadside, he immediately chided the student for throwing rocks at the windows. The student defended himself saying that he had only picked up the rock but had not thrown it. The teacher said: "How can you deny it? Look at all the broken windows!" and he pointed at the many broken windowpanes in the school building. There may be justifications for the teacher to reproach the student, but his inference is obviously simplistic: from the broken windowpanes he had inferred that the student who picked up a rock had intended to throw it at the window. This kind of reasoning can only lead to antagonism between teachers and students. Nowadays few teachers ever consider the psychology of the students; their attitude toward the students is abominable. This is the main obstacle to the launching of ideological and political work today. The phenomenon of slow learners being rejected and abandoned is also quite common. Neither the teachers



nor the schools want bad students; they would rather see other teachers or other schools take those students. Some schools divide their students into two groups, and the smart and qualified students are pampered and given special instructions and special attention. Those who do not do well are more or less abandoned, and of course these students will have no interest in their schoolwork. In the final analysis, incorrect educational ideology in the schools is the reason for the students to reject the schools.

In teaching, the teachers place themselves first and foremost; they are not interested in the students; they do not care whether the students learn anything or not; they just teach. They just cram the students with facts. This may be due partly to the poor training of the teachers, but it is mainly a problem with educational ideology. The present educational reform should emphasize elicitation. The elicitation method of teaching is rich in content; simple answers may not enlighten, but some questions that are never raised may still enlighten.

My views on the obstacles to educational reform may nor may not be correct; some comrades might consider them "trite," but they are realistic. I hope that educational ideology will be treated as a major issue and will always be emphasized.

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## PAPER PUBLISHES AUTHOR'S ADVERTISEMENT FOR 'SELF-SELECTED WORKS'

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 12 May 86 p 3

[Article by Zhang Xianliang [1728 6343 0081]: "Please Buy 'Zhang Xianliang's Self-selected Works'"; first paragraph is source supplied introduction]

[Text] Editor's note: This "advertisement" written by Zhang Xianliang himself has aroused the interest of many readers after being published in a recent issue of WENHUI DUSHU ZHOUKAN. This article produces some food for thought. The whole article is reprinted here on readers' request.

This title sounds like an ad for a product. As a matter of fact, it is an ad. Strictly speaking, every article is an ad.

It seems that I am the first writer who writes an ad for his own book and publishes it with his signature on it. But, everything must be started by somebody. Some readers may be shocked by this. But please be patient. Let us calm down and think: Why can't we be frank and let the world know about our strong points, shortcomings, and weaknesses? Why can't we advocate our own creation? In an era of unprecedented freedom like this (a period of most freedom since not only 1949 but the beginning of history), why can't we boldly find our lost selves? To attain the harmony of human relations--namely, "stability and unity" in political terms--the first step, in my opinion, is to show everything you have openly and frankly. In this way, even the lack of mutual understanding and opposition can be considered a pattern of harmony. Harmony does not mean the lack of differences. Instead, it means the surfacing and co-existence of differences.

Since I published my works, I have heard constantly the sounds of resentment, complaints, jabber, and gossip followed by rumors. Some even put on a stern face to preach and rebuke me, saying "the tone is depressed," "the hero of the book knows nothing but stuffing his stomach" and "likes only activities in bed," "it will have harmful effects when it is circulated among youth," and so on. That is enough! Here, I will respond only with an inconspicuous quotation of a Russian writer:

"Communism is not asceticism. It demands the full expression of individuality in the individual sphere. This issue was discussed repeatedly by Marx, Engels, and Lenin. While exposing the hypocrisy of German citizens on the

rostrum of the Prussian Local Self-management Conference, Karl Liebknecht pointed out that art always gets the strongest stimulation from sexual relations--the most subtle meaning of 'pornography'..."

To put it in the expression to which some people are still used to, "How well said these words are!"

"Zhang Xianliang's Self-selected Works" is a book which gives full expression to individuality. It uses sincerity to challenge hypocrisy created by oppression. Many years later, people may find one or two traces of hypocrisy between lines, but that "hypocrisy" is also sincere. Sincere "hypocrisy"--the ideological characteristic of that time--is exactly what I wanted to write.

"Zhang Xianliang's Self-selected Works" includes all works written before 1984 which the author himself thinks satisfactory. All works were inspired, as always, by sexual relations, because sexual relations always are the most basic and the highest form of existence of life and human activities.

The first chapter of this book is a poem--the Song of Gale--which put the author in trouble for as long as 22 years. The subtitle of this poem then was "Dedicated to Those Who Create Material and Culture." In fact, it is really dedicated to the people living in a quarter of a century after its birth. The remaining works of the book were written between 1979 and 1984. Then, do they also need to age a quarter of a century before they can be comprehended?

This book is published by the Ningxia People's Publishing House with Bu Lunan [1580 7627 0589] as its responsible editor. The cover of the book is designed by Xing Shiyuan [6717 1102 0337] on my request. It looks nice. Its prints are clear (of course, errors are unavoidable).

When large numbers of my books were circulated to small book stands, the Xinhua Book Store ordered only 2,000 copies of this book. I cannot but feel disappointed and indignant. Therefore, I wish that readers interested in this book make direct mail orders to the publishing house. The book is sold at 3.35 yuan.

I welcome criticisms of my works. But this does not imply that I think my works may contain something that deserves ideological criticism. If I thought so, I would not have had it published. However, should the case that the book "causes harmful effects when circulated among youth" occur, I myself will not assume any responsibility for it. As a Western proverb says: "Fine wine is a gift from God, but drunkards are the work of the devil."

12302

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## SHANGHAI COMPANY TRANSFERS SUCCESSFUL REFORMER

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 15 May 86 p 1

[Article by correspondents Tao Weicheng [7118 4850 1004] and Cui Jifeng [1508 4949 1496] and reporter Zhang Ping [1728 1627]: "A Reformer's Misfortunes"]

[Text] On 18 February 1986, Zhang Liangfeng [1728 5328 7364], deputy manager of the Shanghai Yangpu District Transportation Company and member of the company's CPC committee, was transferred to another post. This incident caused strong repercussion throughout the company.

Zhang Liangfeng, 47 years old, had worked as director of the Yangpu Bus Plant, which is collectively owned, and secretary of the plant's CPC branch since 1978. Under his leadership, the staff members and workers of the plant spent several years to carry out all-round consolidation of the bus plant, which then produced only 20 to 30 old-fashioned buses a year, and doubled the output of buses. They also organized forces to develop new models. With his support, the bus plant "imported" one after another 18 engineers, technicians, and mechanics and formed a fairly strong technical force. Since 1982 they have designed and produced large "Jun Ma"-brand buses, which have passed state tests and have been sold to over 20 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions across the country. They have also produced a dozen special-purpose construction vehicles, filling in the gaps of domestic technology.

In 1984, Zhang Liangfeng took up the posts of the deputy manager of the transportation company, the member of the company's CPC committee, and the director of the bus plant. That year, the bus plant produced 216 "Jun Ma"-brand large luxury buses, 57 forest prospecting vehicles, and made a profit of 1.63 million yuan. Later, this plant was included in the national network of bus production by the Chinese Automotive Industrial Co., the Ministry of Communications, and the Ministry of Urban Construction.

After he became the deputy manager of the company, Zhang Liangfeng carried out on a trial basis structural reform in the bus plant and several other plants with the former as the main plant and the latter as subsidiaries in an effort to prepare them for the transition to a medium-sized plant specializing in bus production. At the same time, he had these plants merged into the municipal tractor industrial company under the name of the bus plant, thus opening up

the channels of supply, production, and marketing. This reform gave great impetus to the growth of production in that plant.

Immediately after that, Zhang Liangfeng carried out a series of reforms: implementing on a trial basis the system of contracted responsibility in the company; vigorously carrying out horizontal economic links and providing the Kaifeng No 2 Sewing Machine Parts Plant with technology necessary for the production of large buses; cooperating with the district people's bank in the operation of the Jun Ma Tourist company and made an annual profit of 20,000 yuan; and transforming an unprofitable rotary machine plant attached to the company into a subsidiary of the bus plant to produce small vans. At the same time, with the tractor company acting as a go-between, he managed to get \$6.72 million of foreign exchange and 52 million yuan in loans, with which he planned to import key parts of chassis to produce high-quality tourist buses equipped with rear engines, air conditioning, and closed-circuit color TV's including 55 percent of parts made in China, thereby laying a foundation for the "take-off" of this plant. He vigorously planned to cooperate with the Fudan University in opening college courses to train the technical forces of the new generation. He and other company leaders implemented the cadre appointment system under which he nominated and boldly promoted many young and middle-aged cadres. Zhang Liangfeng, who was chosen as a model of reform by the district office of urban construction, has delivered reports on many occasions outside his unit to introduce his experience in reform. Many newspapers and magazines have also carried reports on his deeds.

In the beginning of 1985, the secretary, deputy secretary, and some members of the company's CPC committee had differences with Zhang Liangfeng on some concrete issues and practices of reform. Each side stuck to their own opinions. But who would have expected that these differences of opinions could become the prelude of a disturbance.

At a democratic life meeting of the company's CPC committee, while he had no idea what would happen, Zhang Liangfeng was given 8 hours and 40 minutes of "help." The secretary of the CPC committee spoke for over 2 hours, saying that Zhang Liangfeng "took chances" by engaging in imports and he "made a mess" of the new system, etc. The secretary and the deputy secretary of the company's CPC committee held three symposiums in the plant, claiming that Zhang Liangfeng "had lost his popular trust."

In mid-June, ignoring Zhang Liangfeng who was then in charge of all administrative work in the company and was concurrently the head of the leading group for enterprise consolidation, the liaison group for enterprise consolidation led by the deputy secretary of the company's CPC committee went to the bus plant and, under the excuse of "straightening out the system and readjusting the leading body," looked for new candidates to form a new leading body. Soon after that, Zhang Liangfeng was removed from the post of plant director.

Why did a plant director with outstanding achievements in the reform suddenly face such a misfortune? Please take a look at some of the situations in the party consolidation of the Yangpu District Transportation Co. carried out since June 1985.

After newspapers and magazines reported Zhang Liangfeng's deeds in reform and the bus plant's achievements in production, some members of the company's CPC committee went so far as to rebuke them, saying that they were "maglinant expansion of individualism." The secretary of the CPC committee called Zhang's problem a problem concerning the "relations between an individual and his organization" and indicated that he could not work with Zhang. In the meantime, some people in the company's CPC committee criticized Zhang Liangfeng's practice of daring to stick to one's own opinion in the reform of administration and management as "acting arbitrarily." During the stage of correcting guiding ideology for vocational work, the company's CPC committee led the rank and file in finding errors in the reform, preventing Zhang Liangfeng from exercising normal commands in production.

Later, at a CPC group meeting which was held to make counter criticism on Zhang Liangfeng, the secretary of the CPC committee sternly enumerated his "mistakes" and asked him "what kind of responsibility should you assume." He also said "such criticism cannot be accepted; otherwise, the party consolidation of the company will be going through motions." Shortly after, all achievements in the reform were negated in the name of correcting errors in work. The CPC committee took back the right to cadre appointments and removals and abolished the appointment system; did away with the new system and went back to the old one; and returned foreign exchange and loans and turned "imports" into a mere scrap of paper. As a result, some projects of horizontal economic links died an early death and even those survived are also half dead.

Seeing the reform achievements of the bus plant subjected to devastating destruction and production getting worse each day, Zhang Liangfeng was burning with concerns and soon contracted hepatitis. During his illness, he repeatedly reported his misfortunes to leaders at the higher level but did not get any support he deserved.

On the contrary, the supervising department of the Yangpu District Transportation Company--the CPC committee of the district office of urban construction--casually turned the serious question of upholding or negating the reform into a "personal contradiction" between Zhang Liangfeng and the secretary of the CPC committee. Later, it transferred Zhang Liangfeng to another post under the excuse that "one unit cannot have two strong men."

Zhang Liangfeng's transfer caused great ideological confusion in the district transportation company and its subsidiary plants and caused the production of the bus plant to plummet. In the first quarter of 1986, the plant produced only 25 buses, accounting for 8.3 percent of its annual plan and two thirds fewer than the corresponding period of 1985. The production cost of each bus was up 13 percent compared to that of 1985. The quality of buses dropped from the lower-than-average level to the lowest level of the same industry. Because products were unmarketable, the plant's profits for the first quarter were 85.8 percent lower than the corresponding period of 1985 and its losses for April came to 50,000 yuan. Facing this situation, most of the plant's 17 technicians think they cannot work there any longer. Among them, two have been transferred to other posts and 12 have requested that they be transferred

out of the plant. Discontent with the current state of affairs, 26 workers of this plant sent joint letters to leaders at the higher level and our newspaper, reporting the situation and calling on leaders at the higher level to hurry up and "save the bus plant!"

12302

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## SUGGESTIONS FOR ENSURING FREE ACADEMIC DEBATE

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 16 May 86 p 3

[Article by Sun Changjiang [1327 7022 3068]: "There Should Not Be 'Referees' in Academic Debates"]

[Text] In the phrase "encourage bold exploration" the word "exploration" should be emphasized according to reason, but in reality more often than not the word "bold" is emphasized instead. When I write this sentence, I have mixed feelings. One is happy which is the most important feeling because we finally can boldly explore the issue of "bold exploration." But, on the other hand, I feel a little sad for the country was founded over 30 years ago and yet today we still have to discuss the issue of "boldness." Indeed many historical lessons are hidden here.

It was over a century ago that Engels said: Criticism is the key element of the workers' movement. How can the workers' movement itself avoid criticism and try to prohibit debates? Do we demand the freedom of speech from others just because so that we can abolish it in our own ranks?

Reading this passage gave me much food for thought.

After the "Gang of Four" was smashed, order was brought out of chaos, and thorough-going reform was carried out, theoretical work resumed its reputation and vitality and the situation made a fundamental turn for the better. In recent years, the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on the reform of economic system" and the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on the reform of scientific and technological system" were issued one after another. A sentence in the second decision is much welcomed by the rank and file personages of scientific and technological and intellectual circles. It goes: We should create an environment in which people can seek the truth fearlessly. The word fearlessly here implies that there used to be fears or there are still some fears. Recently leading comrades brought up again the issue of "bold exploration," which has greatly inspired the people. But I hope that in the future it will not be necessary to discuss the issues of "boldness" and "fearlessness." This means that words of encouragement are extremely important, but it is better to have effective measures. I can think of three:

1. Permit mistakes. To ensure this, I think first we must really do away with "referees" actually existing in academic, literary and art debates. Academic issues should be resolved by academic circles through free discussions according to the academic law itself, not by the ruling of a certain "referee." A passage in "The Collection of Mao Zedong's Letters," which was published a few years ago, states that when a foreign friend mentioned that some people disagreed with "The Collection of Mao Zedong's Works" on the appraisal of Sun Yatsen, Chairman Mao said: "This is a difference of opinions on academic and ideological issues. Everybody is entitled to talk about it. It has nothing to do with losing prestige... If there are differences of opinions on such academic issues or any leader at home, they should not be prohibited either. It is completely wrong to try to prohibit such things."

Nevertheless, we often hear that people with differences of opinions in various academic discussions are crowned with the crime of "being different." This is very unfavorable to implementing the party's "double hundreds" principle and accelerating academic development.

I recall that famous scientist Einstein once said: If anybody claims that he is the judge of truth and the intellectual sphere, he will be destroyed by the laughter of God. This is a humorous but profound remark. Historical experience has already proved that placing "referees" on academic issues is very unsuccessful. Since the founding of the country, over 30 criticisms have been conducted in the field of natural sciences and experience has proved that all the "referees" in these criticisms were wrong. The situation in the field of social sciences probably is not any better. Therefore, I hold that in order to eliminate fears and boldly explore, the first thing to do is to do away with "referees."

2. Permit counter criticism. Saying so alone is not enough. There must be measures that allow and provide a place for the criticized to speak up for himself and publish articles. I suggest that the power to examine and approve the publishing of books and articles be reduced. Authors and editors alone will be sufficient to assume responsibility for such free academic debates. It is not necessary to have them examined and approved at each level. Having the right to academic discussions centralized in one organization is very passive and often causes errors. This has also been proved by history.

3. Protect explorers. Saying so alone is not enough. There must be measures to allow the protection of public opinions. When someone is criticized, everybody is entitled to making fair comments. If it is the author's fault, everybody should offer enthusiastic help. If it is unjustifiable slander, everybody must be allowed to speak up and sing the song that says "put down your whip." If there is such an atmosphere, there might be some sense of security.

With regard to the issue of adhering to the "double hundreds" principle, I also have three hopes:

First, I hope that no additional conditions are added willfully. In other words, no restrictions of various kinds that run counter to the spirit of the policy itself should be added arbitrarily. These things happen all the time.

Take the intellectuals' issue for example. Over 30 years ago, Comrade Zhou Enlai said that intellectuals already became a part of the working class. After the smashing of the "Gang of Four," Comrade Deng Xiaoping again made a scientific exposition at a national science rally. He said explicitly that intellectuals were an important component of the working class. Some comrades, on the contrary, emphasize that intellectuals cannot really become a part of the working class unless they completely change their world outlook. This is the same as negating the party's scientific inference on intellectuals as we mentioned above and taking intellectuals again for bourgeois elements.

Second, I hope that it will not be discontinued. In 1956 the "double hundreds" principle was set forth; in 1957 the anti-rightist movement was carried out; in 1961 the "three-not" doctrine and the 14 rules for scientific research were set forth; and in 1966 the great cultural revolution was carried out. As soon as the "double hundreds" principle was set forth, it was discontinued and then it was resumed immediately after it was discontinued. Every time it was discontinued, the party's undertakings suffered huge losses and even went to the extreme leading to the great cultural revolution.

Third, I hope that it will not change. When we say "a hundred schools contend," we mean a hundred schools, not "two schools." Otherwise, "a hundred schools" will become a means to lure people to expose themselves. So is the case with "keeping in step." The central government calls on the people to keep in step with the government politically, not on every academic, literary, artistic, or ideological issue.

In conclusion, I would like to go back to the issue of bold exploration. Here I would like to put an end to this issue with a quote from the speech of a leading comrade of the central government. While addressing the issue of discussions on the new technological revolution, he said:

We can see that many comrades are able to study the reform in connection to the newest achievements of the world. This is a very good thing. It is worth rejoicing. Are there still some people among us who mistake the newest accomplishment of the modern world for the "sugarcoated bullets of the bourgeoisie" and "heretical beliefs" and therefore have no interest in them? If so, our economic field needs to wage a struggle against stupidity instead of liberalization.

Therefore, I say that the theoretical circle has an important task that is to struggle against Chinese-style stupidity. This is extremely important and arduous.

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## IMPROVEMENTS IN GUIZHOU'S PUBLIC ORDER REPORTED

Guiyang GUIZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 9 Apr 86 p 1

[Article: "Public Order in Our Province Has Markedly Improved"]

[Text] In the provincial conference on politics and law held from the 2nd to the 8th, departments concerned said that at present, public order in our province has markedly improved and the masses' sense of security has been strengthened. The emergence of such a good situation is due mainly to the fact that in recent years, public security organs at all levels in the province have combat serious criminal activities quickly and rigorously and more and more people have shown the courage to struggle against criminal elements.

The major manifestations of this improvement in our province's public order are: (1) We have, in accordance with the law, punished a large number of criminal elements, destroyed a number of criminal gangs which seriously endangered public order, and punctured the arrogance of the major criminal elements. Such hideous crimes as physical assault by hoodlums, murder with knives, robbery, chasing after women, armed rape and gang rape which were widespread before the launching of the "rigorous attack" have all been reduced. The fears, prevalent previously, of being robbed when going out, of their homes being burglarized when going to work, and of female workers who need protection when going to and from work at night, have basically been all eliminated and the sense of security has been greatly enhanced. (2) All the major crimes have declined greatly. According to statistics early this year, up to the end of last year, a comparison between the 28 months after the launching of the "rigorous attack" (September 1983 - December 1985) and the 28 months before the campaign (May 1981 - August 1983) shows that all crimes have been reduced by 40.4 percent. (3) The masses' active nature in combating criminal elements has been strengthened. Based on incomplete data, since the beginning of the "rigorous attack," the masses have reported or exposed clues for more than 32,000 criminal cases and have directly apprehended more than 2,100 criminals and brought them to public security organs. More and more people and cadres now dare to struggle against criminal elements, more than 3,100 of whom have turned themselves in because they were awed by the masses' awakening and the "rigorous attack's" show of strength. (4) Public order in an increasing number of localities and units has improved. Based on a recent typical model of various places, of the areas administered by police stations in the cities and townships and the internal units above the level of rural districts, villages, townships and counties in the province, more than 80 percent exhibit stable or basically stable public order. In the province, public order in public places in the cities and villages has also improved markedly, and festivals and important gatherings and activities are now safer.

## COLLEGE STUDENTS' MOTIVES FOR STUDYING DISCUSSED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 2 May 86 p 3

[Article by Wang Peidong [3076 1014 2767]: "College Students' Motives for Studying and Ideological Education"]

[Text] Recently, we conducted a survey of 425 undergraduates in several arts and science disciplines of Hebei University regarding their motives for studying. The survey uses the set questionnaire method. The questionnaire lists 20 motives for studying. There are lofty motives, such as "to learn the skills to contribute more to the country"; and base ones such as "to study well so that it will be easier to get salary increases in the future." There are also motives related to the development of interest through habit such as "to study hard is my habit." The questionnaire does not use names and the respondent needs only select and mark with a "v" the one item among the 20 that most represents his motive for studying. If the 20 listed items still do not include one's motive, then he can write down his motive in the "other" column in the questionnaire.

Based on the survey results, of the 425 students, 225 or 53 percent of the total indicate relatively lofty motives; 112 or 26 percent have motives that are related to their deep interest in learning or good habits; 59 or 14 percent have a basic motive for studying. There are also individual students who study in order to "fill an empty soul," to "escape from reality," or to "seek a way out of hopelessness." Twelve people, or 3 percent have such unhealthy motives and 17 or 4 percent have other motives.

Based on the above results, we have the following understanding:

(1) The mainstream among the college students' ideological trends today is to move forward actively, to have the motherland in mind and to study hard for the realization of the four modernizations and the revitalization of China. Many opinions have been expressed regarding the ideology and performance of today's college students. Some people say, "Today's youths only think of their own individual interests." They do not quite trust today's college students. Such worries and doubts are not unfounded. Most of today's college students were born during the 10 years of turmoil. They grew up amid the waves of "rebellion" and "criticism and struggle" and were influenced by anarchism and leftist thinking. Many of them do not understand the party's fine tradition and without a good primary education, they become to a certain degree ignorant

and benighted. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the influence of the 10 years of turmoil cannot be swept away all at once and unhealthy tendencies in the society cannot be entirely eradicated. With the implementation of the open-door policy, some capitalist thoughts will inevitably develop and they will certainly affect some students. Unhealthy ideology or even doubts about our party and socialist system will emerge. Through the survey, we can see that the unhealthy ideology is not the mainstream and most students still possess ideals and ambition; they have the motherland in mind and are actively moving forward, ready to contribute to the realization of modernization. We should judge today's youths correctly, seeing their problems but also their initiatives and desire to move ahead; we should distinguish the mainstream from the tributaries and establish the sentiment of love and concern for the young people's ideology, using the trust and love for the students as the basis for their ideological education by the universities.

(2) We must work hard to elevate the ideological realm of the college students so that their motives for studying can be built on lofty social motives.

In the survey, the motives for studying of 112 students (accounting for 26 percent of the total number of students) are related to a deep interest in the process or content of learning, or to good learning habits. Even though such motives are not passive or wrong, yet it is not enough for our students to merely stay at such levels. The American psychologist Brunner [phonetic] believes that the best motive for studying is to develop an interest in the subject matter itself. He has put this in absolute terms because in capitalist America, it is impossible to guide the youths to a lofty social motive. But we must stress the need to establish a lofty social motive and guide the youths to link what they learn today to the future of communism and to the building of a strong and modern socialist motherland. Only this will provide a firm and sustaining motive power. We should nurture the students to possess a grand ideal, to combine their dedication to modernization with their intense interest in learning and to advance toward the target of both red and expert.

We must pay close attention to the fact that there are still some students (59 in the survey, accounting for 14 percent of the total) who have rather basic motives. Their desire to study is based on the fulfillment of their individual lives and materialistic needs, and they consider study as a means. Such motives are often unstable, temporary and easily discouraged. Schools should actively teach them and guide them away from these base motives so as to establish lofty social motives as the motive power for studying.

The tiny number of students, accounting for 3 percent of the total, who have unhealthy or improper motives for studying, should receive our close attention. They are influenced by nihilism and are pessimistic, uncertain or reckless. They urgently need help and education to correct their understanding of the meaning of life and society. We have to teach them with skill and patience, to love and reason with them and guide them to a healthy way.

The rectification of the students' motives for studying depends on the party organization and ideological political work cadres. We should also propose that the teacher not only teaches but also nurtures the students, providing them with scientific knowledge and developing their intelligence as well as paying attention to inspiring them ideologically and helping them establish the lofty social motive of studying for the revolution.

## GANSU STRENGTHENS IDEOLOGICAL-POLITICAL WORK

Lanzhou GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 26 Apr 86 p 2

[Article: "Decision of the Gansu Provincial Party Committee on Strengthening Ideological-Political Work (14 April 1986)"]

[Text] The enlarged fifth committee meeting of the sixth provincial party committee earnestly discussed the issue of strengthening the party's ideological-political work. According to the consensus, a further strengthening of ideological-political work is the impetus and guarantee of promoting Gansu's material and spiritual civilizations, and its important significance must not be overlooked. For this reason, the following decision has been made.

1. The Important Position and Impact of Ideological-Political Work Must Be Fully Recognized.

Giving serious attention to ideological-political work is our party's fine tradition. As proved by history, the growth and success of our cause are built on the basis of correct leadership and mass consciousness. Once the leadership is correct, mass consciousness becomes the decisive factor. Ideological-political work is a main way our party leads and unites the masses in the great struggle, a major characteristic distinguishing the CPC from other political parties, and an extremely important prerequisite for success in revolution and construction.

Comrade Mao Zedong's famous dictum that "political work is the lifeline of all economic work" vividly epitomizes the important position and impact of ideological-political work in economic construction. After the shift of the focus of the party's work, economics has become the center, while ideological-political work serves as the guarantee of its sound progress as well as satisfies the need to create a favorable political and social environment for reform. Under the situation of opening to the outside and enlivening the economy at home, ideological-political work is facing many new assignments and problems. We must firmly implement the policy of promoting the "two civilizations" simultaneously and strengthen the spiritual civilization in ideological-political work, while devoting ourselves to the material civilization. When deliberating issues and performing work, we must give attention to not only the creation of material products but also the training of new persons with morals, culture, and discipline. Our ideological-political work must play the role of guaranteeing the completion of the economic reform and the modernization assignments, serve the party's general goal and general task in the new period, unite and educate the broad masses, and struggle for the prosperity of our province.



Nevertheless, the tendency of slackening and weakening our ideological-political work has appeared in recent years and, compared with the past we have fallen short in many aspects and links. Neglect and incompetence are a common phenomenon. Many units have failed to place ideological-political work on their daily agenda; some basic-level units have laid it aside over an extended time; many ideological-political work units suffer from incomplete mechanisms and personnel and fund shortages, constantly involving themselves in administrative affairs or being pressed to do other work, thereby making it impossible for them to concentrate on ideological-political work; and the practice of dissociating ideological-political work from economic work is still found.

Among the many factors for the conditions discussed above, the main reason is in our subjective aspect. On the one hand, many comrades lack an adequate understanding of ideological-political work in the new period and have even failed to rectify some incorrect ideas. Some, for instance, feel that, with the shift of the focus of the party's work, one should concentrate on economic work and that there is no time to attend to ideological-political work. Some even say: "Ideological-political work produces no results and creates no value. It is not very useful." There are also those who, though verbally refraining from negating its importance, always feel that ideological-political work is soft and slow and does not produce results as fast as economic means, often resorting to the latter where the former is needed. Some comrades feel that once the economy improves, the people's ideology will naturally follow suit and that there is no need to expend much energy on ideological-political work. The presence of such incorrect ideas cannot but block the expansion of ideological-political work. On the other hand, we fail to analyze and uphold adequately our successful experiences of the past and properly solve the issue of improving and strengthening ideological-political work in terms of the new situation and assignments under the new historical conditions. To date, many comrades still find themselves in the vexing situation where they "cannot follow the old measures, are afraid to take tough measures, find soft measures ineffective, and do not know how to use new measures." As a result, they fail to implement ideological-political work in many aspects.

Today, strengthening ideological-political work has even greater urgency. The party style and social mood have not basically improved; the practice of "everything for money" has not been effectively curbed; political liberalism, individualism of every description, cliquism, and departmentalism are widespread in some units; and the use of power for private gain and illegal and undisciplined conduct also occur at times among a small number of cadres. All these demand our serious attention. Comrade Deng Xiaoping incisively declared: "Production has improved in recent years, but the pernicious influence of capitalism and feudalism has not been reduced to the possible minimum, and some evil practices which have long vanished after liberation are reviving. If we still fail to make a strong determination to change the situation, how can the superiority of socialism be fully developed? How can we fully and effectively educate our people and the new generation?" For this reason, we must ceaselessly improve ideological-political work, place it on the important daily agenda of party committees of all levels, and concentrate on it properly and persistently.

## 2. Party Organizations of All Levels and All Branches Must Perform Ideological-Political Work.

Ideological-political work is primarily the task of party organizations of all levels. When discussing the improvement and strengthening of the party's leadership in the new period, Comrade Deng Xiaoping unequivocally pointed out: "Besides mastering the principles and policies and deciding on the appointment of important cadres, the party's leading organs must devote time and energy to ideological-political work and perform people's work and mass work. If it cannot be totally achieved for the time being, they must at least place ideological-political work in an important position, for otherwise it will be impossible either to improve or to strengthen the party's leadership." Leading party organizations of all levels must firmly follow the spirit of these words. Hereafter, the provincial committee must devote greater energy to the spiritual civilization and ideological-political work. Besides assigning a deputy secretary to be in charge, the provincial party secretary must give the matter his regular attention. The provincial standing committee must deliberate ideological-political work at least once every 6 months and call special meetings whenever necessary. Prefectural and county committees and those of plants and mines at the county level and above must also plan their work accordingly. The functional branches of party committees of all levels must perform the ideological-political work of their own jurisdictions as well as professional work. We must fully develop the roles of basic-level party branches as fighting fortresses and the exemplary effect of party and league members and mobilize all of them to do ideological-political work. Basic-level party branches must devote their main energy to strengthening their own building and ideological-political work.

Propaganda departments of all levels are the units in charge as well as the advisors and aids of party committees in ideology and on the ideological front. Party committee or its standing committee members should serve as chiefs of propaganda departments. All propaganda cadres must fully develop their enthusiasm, initiative, and creativity; assiduously learn their professions; investigate and study; contact society; understand the masses; improve their abilities; and adjust themselves as rapidly as possible to the needs of the situation and tasks. Meanwhile, they must analyze and publicize new experiences, organize and coordinate the strengths of all quarters, and properly perform ideological-political work together.

Ideological-political work is not only the task of party organizations of all levels but also the common assignment of local administrative organs and the productive, scientific and technological, administrative, and management systems of enterprise and business units. Local administrative systems and enterprise and business units of all levels must make ideological-political work an important part of their responsibilities. Administrative, technical, and management cadres of all levels and all types must, like the political cadres, exert themselves in ideological-political work.

Mass organizations such as labor units, Communist Youth Leagues, women's federations, and literary, scientific, and social associations are the party's links with the people and the branches of its ideological work. They must concentrate on their own areas of mass ideological-political work, coordinate to the full with the pertinent departments, and properly perform the ideological-political work of society as a whole.

As proved by numerous facts, ideological-political work is "systems engineering" of the whole society. Studying, discussing, and hearing lectures and holding individual conversations make up ideological-political work, but reading literary works with an educational significance, watching programs with an ideological content, organizing meaningful field trips, helping to solve practical problems in life, and creating a pleasant environment are also contained in ideological-political work. Making explanations in various forms is ideological-political work, and so is teaching by example, especially the model conduct of our leading cadres, which produces a far greater influence on the masses than hollow preaching. Thus, it is impossible to confine ideological-political work to any particular branch, quarter, or link; it requires the concerted action and common effort of all trades, departments, and links of the whole society before it can be properly performed.

### 3. Ideological-Political Work Must be Ceaselessly Improved According to the New Situation.

The basic assignment of the party's ideological-political work is to educate party members and cadres and the broad masses with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, inspire their revolutionary consciousness, promote the multifaceted development of their talent and wisdom, help them establish the correct life and world philosophies, train and cultivate new persons with ideals, morals, culture, and discipline, and ensure the smooth progress of China's economic reform and four modernizations. It is a protracted arduous and glorious assignment and requires perseverance and an unrelenting effort for its fulfillment.

In the decades of revolution and construction, our party has accumulated rich experiences in ideological-political work and formed a fine tradition. The factual, clear-cut, vivid and lively, intimate and moving, and visible and tangible parts have been widely accepted and welcomed by the masses. We must carry on and develop them in conjunction with the new situation.

We should realize that, under the new historical conditions, while upholding reform and the policy of opening to the outside and enlivening the economy at home, we must improve the mental outlook of the people. It is a new task confronting our ideological-political work. Though the "Great Cultural Revolution" has long been thoroughly negated, its negative influence has not been totally purged in many aspects, and some extremely incorrect ideas are still producing an effect on many people. With the introduction of reform and the open-door policy, the people's thinking has grown more active and their field of vision broader. Meanwhile, the decadent bourgeois ideology inevitably makes use of the opportunity to enter. In terms of reform itself, on the one hand, it has to undergo a course of continuous exploration and experimenting and, on the other, people must gradually adapt to the change and understand it. In terms of the objectives of our work today, be they workers, peasants, students, cadres, or people of other fields, significant changes have occurred in their economic position, education and training, psychological state, and interests and hobbies. All these have brought new assignments to ideological-political work and enhanced the difficulties. Thus, we must continuously improve our work in line with the new situation.

As proved by practice in recent years, the following principles and measures should be upheld and followed:

(1) Correct political orientation. The correct political orientation consists of upholding the four basic principles, propagandizing Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and spreading socialism and communism.

(2) Linking theory with reality. We must integrate communist ideals with the practice of socialism, socialism with patriotism, the study of Marxism-Leninism with the implementation of the party's principles and policies, and ideological-political work with solving practical problems in the people's thinking, work, and lives. In short, we must start from reality in everything; perform our work purposefully, targeted at different objectives, on multiple levels, and through multiple channels; and guard against hollow preaching and uniformity.

(3) Developing democracy. There should be an equal and comradely relationship between the educator and the educated. The former should not consider himself superior and act in an arrogant manner, nor is he permitted to oppress others with his power. He must calmly discuss dissenting views, convince by reason, and guard against coercion, the issuing of orders, and oversimplification.

(4) Educating by channeling. We must give first place to positive education. In regard to the people's ideological problems, we must refrain from oversimplified suppression as well as negative blocking and follow the method of positive channeling and guidance. On the basis of painstaking analysis, we must clarify the lines of thought, locate the crux of a problem, adopt different forms, and proceed with purposeful, convincing, and persuasive enlightenment and guidance.

(5) Integrating ideological-political work with economic work and other tasks. Many ideological problems emerge in the course of production and work. Only by adopting diverse forms and bringing ideological-political work into economic activities and other tasks and the various realms of living will the path of ideological-political work become wider and livelier and its results better.

(6) Self-education. In recent years, the people have created many ways of self-education, such as workers' reading and speaking activities, young people's serve-the-people activities, students' "second classrooms," and so forth, and the results have been fairly good. We must continue to encourage them and enrich and expand their activities.

(7) Teaching by example. One must correct oneself before correcting others. What we ask the masses to do, we must first do ourselves. In practical life, the pioneering and exemplary roles of leading cadres and party members are the most persuasive ideological-political work.

(8) Integrating ideological education with discipline and law enforcement. Ideological education is not omnipotent. On the premise of conducting ideological education first, we must firmly enforce discipline and the law wherever necessary, for otherwise we will become slack and weak. Enforcing discipline and the law is also a form of education.

(9) Common effort. Ideological-political work is voluminous and broad. It must receive the attention of all branches and mass organizations in society as well as the departments in charge. We must fully develop the powerful roles of newspapers, radio, and television and give serious attention to the subtle

influence of culture, literature and art. All quarters in society must cooperate with one another, exert a common effort, and form a healthy, progressive, and united "macroatmosphere" in public opinion in order to ensure the smooth progress of the four modernizations.

#### 4. The Ideological-Political Work Contingent Must Be Strengthened.

To strengthen ideological-political work, we must rectify as fast as possible the situation of personnel shortages, ideological instability, poor quality, and lack of successors; systematically and gradually build a large contingent of cadres up to the standard of the "four requirements"; and ceaselessly improve their political and professional levels.

We must further strengthen the mechanism and implement the personnel requirements. The party committee's propaganda, organization, and discipline inspection departments are its functional units of ideological-political work, and should be guaranteed their personnel, funds, and work conditions. Departments and bureaus and large and medium-size enterprises and business units with a fairly large number of subordinate units should establish sound discipline, organization, and propaganda departments, and those with a fairly small number of subordinate units should set up ideological-political work organs and designate full-time propaganda cadres. Small enterprises and collective units should assign full-time political work cadres. Individuals in industry and commerce should, with the aid of relevant district (neighborhood) committees and the party committees of industrial and commercial management departments, set up party organizations according to trade or district. Districts, townships, and towns should assign full-time propaganda cadres, and rural party branches should appoint propaganda officers. The assignment of political work cadres of enterprises, rural villages, and colleges and universities should follow the provisions found in "Opinions on Strengthening the Building of Enterprise Political Work Contingents" issued by the Central Propaganda Department and seven other units, "Trial Regulations on the Party's Rural Ideological-political Work" issued by the Central Propaganda Department and the Central Secretariat's Rural Policy Research Room, and "Opinions on Strengthening the Building of Ideological-political Work Contingents in Colleges and Universities" issued by the Central Propaganda Department and State Education Commission. Unsound structures must be promptly reinforced, personnel shortages gradually remedied, and personnel imbalances promptly balanced in both quality and quantity in order to promote the smooth progress of work.

We must resolve to train political work personnel properly and improve their quality. The policy and professional nature of ideological-political work is fairly strong; therefore, full-time cadres must possess certain political and professional qualities. They should firmly support and implement the party's line, principles, and policies and fulfill the following requirements: strong party spirit and good political quality, certain Marxist theoretical and policy levels, a fairly broad range of knowledge, certain propaganda and organizational abilities, dedication to their work, an upright work style, consistency in words and deeds, and close association with the masses. Thus, we must train political work cadres with planning and step by step. In terms of organs and industrial and business units of the county level and above, we must, according to the spheres of cadre management, formulate plans, and, in diverse forms (including short-term training and the rotational training of personnel



released from production), complete their regular theoretical education in 3 or 5 years; continue the measure of commissioning pertinent colleges and universities to hold special and theoretical classes of all kinds; and actively encourage, organize, and guide active political work cadres to study on their own or participate in spare-time, correspondence, radio, and television study groups of all kinds in society and continuously improve, while performing their duties, their ideological, theoretical, political, and professional levels.

The funds for training should be allocated from workers' educational funds stipulated by the state and shortfalls should be supplemented from local revenues and enterprise funds.

The party's ideological-political work is a science. We should encourage social science research and political work branches to study and explore it. As they are both professional and political cadres, political work personnel should make strict demands on themselves, gain self-respect and confidence, and strive for improvement. Their superiors should show an interest in and cherish them, give them consideration according to the needs of their work in reading documents, attending meetings, and hearing reports, and, in work and living, treat them the same as specialized technical cadres.

5. Today, We must Focus on the Following Tasks:

(1) We must earnestly conduct the education of leading organs and cadres in party spirit, party style, and party discipline. Leading party and government organs of the country level and above must earnestly study the directives issued by the party Central Committee and central leaders, unify thinking, and improve understanding. Meanwhile, we must, in line with the series of provisions issued by the party Central Committee and provincial committee, earnestly rectify organ work style and solve such problems as using power for private gain and bureaucracy found in some cadres. We must educate everyone by means of typical positive and negative examples. Leading cadres of all levels must require strictly of themselves, serve as models, and take the lead in party style rectification. We must earnestly investigate and prosecute the major and important cases and give no special consideration to leaders and eminent figures committing infractions. Units in the midst of party consolidation must make party style rectification an important part of their endeavors and handle it earnestly. Those having undergone party consolidation must continuously solve the problems found in their party style and consolidate and expand the fruits of their work.

(2) We must properly conduct the education in situation and policies. In rural areas, we must, in conjunction with party consolidation, educate the peasants in collectivism, patriotism, and socialism and in the party's principles and policies, especially the party Central Committee's Document No 1 of this year, firmly implement the policy of "planting grass and trees, developing agriculture and livestock, promoting diversification, and getting rich through industry," guide the peasants to overcome poverty and get rich, and curb such unhealthy tendencies and evil practices as feudal superstition, gambling, theft, and destruction of public facilities. Minority areas must strengthen education in the nationality policy and unity. Cities must, centering on the economic reform, launch the education of workers in the reform situation and

policies and in ideals and discipline, strengthen their communist convictions, enhance their sense of responsibility as masters, implement the reform properly along the correct orientation, and improve the economy. Enterprises must, in conjunction with situation education, properly perform ideological-political work in wage reform, and overcome the tendency of vying with one another. Schools of all levels and all types must, in line with the requirement of overall ethical, intellectual, and physical development, include situation and policy education in their teaching plans, help students understand the party's line, principles, and policies and national and provincial conditions, and teach them to uphold the four basic principles. We must strengthen ideological work on teachers and guide them to educate the person as well as teach book learning, serve as models, and be worthy of the name of teacher. Leading cadres of all levels must go among the people, contact them in person, discuss policies and situations, and solve their difficulties. This practice should be made into a system, to be followed from here on.

(3) We must strengthen Marxist theoretical studies by new and old cadres. Leading cadres of the county level and above must, centering on issues in building socialism with Chinese characteristics, earnestly study the basic theories of Marxism, stressing in this year the study of political economy, in order to enhance the sense of principle and system, foresight, and creativity in work. The provincial committee has decided to establish a key study group of the standing committee. Officials of party committees of all levels must take the lead in theoretical studies and solve the practical problems in reform and construction by means of Marxist standpoints, viewpoints, and methods. We must strengthen leadership over the cadres' theoretical studies. Provincial and prefectural (autonomous prefecture or city) party committees must assign special persons in charge of theoretical education, and propaganda branches and lecturers' groups of party committees must be responsible for organizing the studies and rendering guidance. Areas which have not established a sound lecturers' group must do so as soon as possible, and the various large and medium-sized enterprises must also assign full-time theoretical teachers.

(4) We must rectify the guiding ideology of ideological, cultural, and educational branches. Newspaper and publishing, radio and television, cultural and educational, literary and artistic, and public health departments must firmly implement the essence of the party Central Committee's instruction that ideological, cultural, educational, and public health departments and their subordinate enterprises must take social benefit as the only criterion, rectify their own professional guiding ideology, correctly handle the relations of economic results with social benefits, and render greater service to the building of the two civilizations. Party and government departments of all levels must strengthen leadership over the cultural market, establish and reinforce inspection systems, earnestly and properly manage spiritual products of all types, and firmly curb the production, importation, and spread of unsound, vulgar, and undesirable materials.

We must ensure the necessary funds needed for the creation of spiritual products. Governments of all levels should gradually increase the funds and capital construction investments in these units, and finance and tax departments should, on the basis of practical conditions, appropriately reduce or exempt their taxes and profit payments to the state. These units must improve operation and management and strive to reduce the burden on the state.



(5) We must actively conduct propaganda education in the legal system. Currently we must first concentrate on the popularization of elementary legal knowledge and focus on leading cadres and young people. Provincial organs must earnestly conduct legal knowledge training classes for provincial, departmental, and bureau cadres, and the various areas must organize legal studies for cadres of the county level and above. The program to popularize elementary legal knowledge in 5 years must be implemented throughout the province. By means of such education, the vast number of cadres and people will acquire elementary legal knowledge, enhance their legal concepts, correctly apply legal means to problems, and truly achieve the stage of law observance, strict enforcement, and punishment of violations. We must drastically crack down on major and serious economic crimes of all kinds, and firmly curb such activities as the cultivation, use and sale of drugs, prostitution, and gambling.

(6) We must expand and intensify activities in the "five stresses, four beauties, and three loves." As a whole, the creation of civilized units is the basic substance and form, stressing ideological education, following the practice of overall management, spreading from cities to rural villages, raising the "three superior" activities and the creation of civilized units to a new height, and promoting a greater improvement of social order, public security, and social mood. Today, we should concentrate on three things: (a) Strengthen and improve the existing civilized units and civilized villages and towns, develop their roles as models, continue to expand the diverse forms of their creation, such as jointly or severally by soldiers and civilians, and promote, under the premise of upholding standards, strict requirements, and quality guarantees, the creation of more urban and rural civilized units. (b) Focus on spiritual civilization in prefectural, autonomous prefecture, and city government seats, areas opened to the outside, and areas along communication lines. (c) Widely launch competitions in the "two civilizations."

To fulfill the essence discussed above, the provincial committee plans to organize a fairly systematic typical survey of ideological-political work, hold, on this basis, a worksite experience exchange meeting, and further improve and strengthen Gansu's ideological-political work. Upon receipt of this "Decision," party organizations of all levels must earnestly study and discuss it, propose, in connection with reality, specific measures of its implementation, and report to the provincial committee.

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## WAYS TO RECTIFY PARTY WORK STYLE DISCUSSED

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 11 Apr 86 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "First, We Have To Have Confidence; Second, We Have To Be Courageous"]

[Text] Recently, leading comrades of the provincial party committee have repeatedly pointed out that as far as the rectification of the party's work style and the punishment of those who violate the law and discipline are concerned, we must first have unshakable confidence, and second, the courage to struggle hard. This opinion has important guiding significance for the fundamental improvement of the party's work style and social trends.

Faced with the unhealthy tendencies, what should we do? Some people lack the confidence; they sigh and adopt a passive and pessimistic attitude. Others, though indignant, adopt the stand of an observer; they can talk with righteousness and indignation, but they cannot propose any ideas or suggestions to solve the problem and are not willing to actually take action. They are talking about, but not doing, the job so that as critics, they can find fault with others while refusing to move a finger. Even when it is part of their duties, they are unwilling to take action to tackle problems which they clearly should have taken care of, as if the rectification of unhealthy tendencies is none of their concern. There are also those who, on the one hand, express indignation and dissatisfaction at the unhealthy tendencies, and yet are, on the other hand, full of secret admiration for those who have used their authority to make gains. They would also like to make gains when there is the opportunity as if they would be getting the worse of it if they did not make some gains.

All three above attitudes are wrong and cannot be accepted. The correct attitude is to understand clearly the current political and economic situation and be neither pessimistic and discouraged nor blindly self-complacent. We should firmly believe that our party's line, principles and policies are absolutely correct and that the healthy force in the party, which is in the leading position, will undoubtedly defeat all the unhealthy factors. We should strengthen our confidence in rectifying the party's work style, advancing with the knowledge and despite of difficulties; we should lead the way and bravely struggle against all the bad people and things which jeopardize the party's enterprise and harm the people's interests. We should become a fighter to protect the party's line, principles and policies and the construction of the "four modernizations." We have to achieve the two "beginning-with-myself"; beginning with myself, to rectify my own style of work; and

beginning with myself, to lead in the struggle against the unhealthy tendencies of others and society. We should have the quality and courage to hate evil like an enemy and to support what is right. If we cannot do this, we should be ashamed to be a member of the communist party, to be a political and judicial cadre and policeman, and to be a cadre of the country.

What matters is not how great having confidence and courage sounds but how we act, whether we really dare to take action on "tough" problems. If we are fierce of mien but faint of heart, then we will be defeated in the face of unhealthy tendencies and criminal acts. We would not be of much use either if we are pessimistic and discouraged and have a passive attitude. Unhealthy tendencies will take advantage of the opportunity and become even more pronounced. Similarly, indignation without actual action will be useless and will not curb the unhealthy tendencies and criminal acts.

Whether we have the confidence and the courage is also revealed in whether we can be firm in dealing with bad people and things: once we start taking action, do we vow to deal with the problems until they are taken care of? To be lax in our action is tantamount to taking no action at all. To have a fine start but poor finish--like a gust of wind--can never solve the problems fundamentally. When the wind comes, they will retreat; but when the wind blows over, they will become active again. Therefore, we must be firm and carry out a protracted struggle. We should, with a profound love for the masses and a deep hatred for bad people and things, resolve to struggle against unhealthy trends and evil practices and promote what is beneficial and eliminate what is harmful to the people.

Whether we have the confidence and the courage is also revealed in whether we dare to confront tough problems, to ignore anyone's sensibilities and insist that everyone is equal before the laws of the country and party discipline. If we want to take care of this or that relationship, or consider this or that effect, then we will become indecisive and cannot act. This will only help the unhealthy trends and evil practices to grow and spread and will harm, and not help, the party's enterprise. We should insist on implementing the series of recent directives from the party central, to begin rectifying the unhealthy tendencies with the leading organs and the major and important cases while at the same time firmly combating all kinds of criminal activities. Those who violate the law and discipline, whoever they may be, will be dealt with seriously and appropriately.

We believe that we can fundamentally improve the party's work style and social trends if only party committees at all levels possess the confidence, determination and courage and mobilize all the party members, cadres and people to struggle against the unhealthy tendencies and firmly combat economic crimes and criminal activities.

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## RESOLUTIONS ON IMPROVING PARTY WORKSTYLE IN URUMQI

Urumqi XINJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 19 Mar 86 pp 1, 3

[Article: "The Seventh Plenary Session of the Third Party Committee of the Xinjiang Urumqi Autonomous Region Ratified Decisions on Expeditious Realization of Fundamental Improvement in Party Workstyle"]

[Text] Since the 12th Party Congress of the CPC declared the goal to achieve fundamental improvements in the party's workstyle within 5 years, the autonomous region's party organizations at all levels, the party members, and the cadres have implemented the party constitution and such party rules and regulations as the "Various Principles Pertaining to the Party's Political Life" and the "CPC Party Central Committee's Resolutions on Party Consolidation." They have completed party consolidation among the above-county level units systematically and in an orderly fashion. They strengthen party workstyle constructions, investigate and deal with cases of serious violations of law and order, and crack down on serious economic crimes as well as other criminal offenses. The party members uphold firmly the four basic principles and maintain their political unity with the party Central Committee more conscientiously. They reaffirm and further manifest the party's styles of seeking truth from facts, integrating theory with reality, and emphasizing criticism and self-criticism. They manifest democracy and enhance party unity; they normalize the party's political life and rectify the various unhealthy tendencies in their workstyle. On the whole the mainstream of the party style in the autonomous region is good, and the vast majority of the party members and cadres are good or fairly good. These are the guarantees that the political and economic situations in the autonomous region are improving and that conditions may be at their best historically.

However, we should also be aware of the many party style problems still existing in the autonomous region today, some of which are serious. The main problems are as follows:

Some party members lack party spirit, and they meddle with political liberalism. They do not study seriously, nor do they implement the party lines, principles, and policies; some feign compliance while others are selectively compliant. Some of them spread rumors, agitate the people, and propagate slanders. They do not criticize or reject behavior which is harmful to the

party and to nationality unity; they do not expose or resist unhealthy tendencies; and some even try to protect and plead for friends and relatives who have violated law and order.

Some party members engage in serious individualism and abuse the power entrusted to them by the party and the people. They scheme and plot to profit their friends and relatives; they secure private or public housing illegally; they seek pleasure and indulge in opulence; they purchase, trade, or obtain cars unlawfully; they concoct pretexts and squander and misappropriate public funds on extravagant gifts, entertainment, or pleasure trips; they circumvent regulations in order to travel abroad; and some even violate discipline pertaining to foreign affairs.

Some party members play favorites in appointing people: they consider connections instead of principles, they form their own tight-knit cliques, they do not comply with the organization's personnel system, and they offer official posts and make lavish promises at will.

Some party members are imbued with a bureaucratic style: they do not go deep into the realities of life to investigate and study, they are unable to understand new situations or solve new problems, and they are dilatory in work and quarrelsome over trifles. Their work efficiency is low, and they are irresponsible toward work and neglectful of their duties. Some units are concerned only with their own convenience without consideration for the good of the grassroots and adopt the corrupt workstyle of being "inaccessible, cold, and unhelpful."

Some party members adopt the attitude of departmentalism with no consideration for the organization as a whole. They consider only the limited gains of the small clique and the individual unit and fail to take the interests of the nation into account.

Some party members set up businesses and enterprises illegally and reap exorbitant profits. They are unscrupulous in obtaining illegitimate income; they foresake righteousness in the presence of profits; and they engage in corruption and theft, speculation and swindling, and in giving and receiving bribes.

Some party members are apathetic and undisciplined. They have long neglected the regular activities of the organization and do not engage in criticism or self-criticism. They are undemocratic or even despotic. They attack and seek revenge on those comrades who dare to expose mistakes, those who uphold the system and principle; they ignore party discipline as well as other rules and regulations.

Although these unhealthy tendencies are found in some departments, units, or individual members, they damage the prestige of the party and affect the party's undertakings adversely.

The workstyle of the ruling party is the key to its survival. Only by improving the workstyle of the party and the general mood of society can we guarantee the progress of the four modernizations constructions. In order to implement the series of documents, regulations, and important instructions handed down by the party Central Committee and its leading comrades, and in order to attain distinct improvements in the party workstyle within this year, and to realize radical improvements throughout the autonomous region expeditiously, the Seventh Plenary Session of the Third Party Committee of the Xinjiang Urumqi Autonomous Region has made the following resolutions:

1. Study diligently and improve comprehension. Party organizations at all levels must organize party members, cadres, and staff members to study diligently the series of documents and regulations handed down by the party Central Committee and the State Council as well as the important speeches delivered by the leading comrades of the party Central Committee. Let the spirit of the party unify the ideology of the party members, the cadres, and the staff members and reinforce their determination to rectify the party style and their confidence in the achievement of fundamental improvements. Party organizations at all levels must make specific provisions to guarantee study time and promote the integration of theory and reality; they must sum up their experiences, launch criticisms and self-criticisms, conduct self-education, and rectify the unhealthy tendencies conscientiously. Those units in the process of party consolidation must emphasize proper workstyle and emphasize the enhancement and further development of the results of the party consolidation; they must learn, examine, and correct mistakes at the same time.
2. Put a stop to the six unhealthy tendencies. The "Circular Pertaining to the Solution to the Existing Serious Problems in the Workstyle of the Organization" handed down by the offices of the party Central Committee and the State Council identified six unhealthy tendencies; these unhealthy tendencies also exist in the organs of the autonomous region and should be treated as breakthrough points in rectifying the party style. All units must conduct self-examinations earnestly, and with a clear understanding of the problems take appropriate actions and make suggestions for future improvements. After thorough self-examination, they should report to their superior party organization, which should spot-check the results. This task should be completed within the first half of this year.
3. Stress the investigation and handling of major and crucial cases. Rectifying party workstyle must include investigating and handling major and crucial cases involving serious unhealthy tendencies and violations of law and discipline. Party organizations of all levels must grasp major crime cases. The discipline inspection departments, the political and legal departments, and the correspondence and visitation departments as well as the various offices fighting economic crimes must coordinate their actions and cooperate with each other. They must modify their tendency toward leniency, their fear of confrontation, their failure to enforce discipline, and their reluctance to investigate and deal with crime. In investigating and handling major and crucial cases, we must implement the system of responsibility. Where unhealthy trends and evil practices prevail, where leaders neglect

their responsibilities, and where problems are not solved and violations of law and order are not investigated and dealt with, we must go after not only the offenders but also those in charge of the area or unit.

4. Party organs at the regional level should set the example in proper workstyle. Grasping party workstyle in the organs at the regional level can have a significant effect on the party style throughout the region. Therefore, we must pay special attention to the task of rectifying the party workstyle within the organs of the autonomous regions. We want to attain a fundamental improvement in the party workstyle in the regional-level organs within this year. The party organization of every unit in the regional organs must treat the task of improving party workstyle as a major political task, and they must enhance leadership, design good programs, formulate effective measures, and supervise and examine their efforts on a regular basis to ensure that the task can be accomplished as scheduled.

5. Reinforce party spirit education, amplify the regular activities of the organization, and strengthen party discipline. In order to realize fundamental improvements in the party style we must conduct in-depth education of the party members in the party spirit, party style, and party discipline and establish firmly among the party members the ideology of total devotion to serving the people, so that they consciously strive to measure up to the standards of a party member. We must amplify further the regular activities of the organization: all party organizations must sponsor regular party activity meetings. All party members, especially the leading members and cadres, must conscientiously attend these meetings and submit themselves to the scrutiny of the people. Party committees above the county level must convene meetings on democratic life at least twice a year, in compliance with the regulations of the autonomous region party committee. They must evaluate their own deeds, ideologies, and lifestyles by the standards of the party constitution, the "Guiding Principle," and other party regulations and ordinances and launch criticisms and self-criticisms. By way of these party activity meetings, and utilizing criticisms and self-criticisms as weapons and using conscientious self-examination and mutual examinations as tools, we can reestablish party discipline. First and foremost we reestablish party discipline, then we must also reestablish personnel discipline, financial discipline, foreign affairs discipline, propaganda discipline, and security discipline. The focus of the rectifications will be on the leading organs and leading cadres above the county level. Through rectifications we effect practical discipline education among the general party members and cadres and enhance their concept of discipline, overcome their slack discipline, expose and deal promptly with crime, and enforce party discipline seriously.

6. Reinforce party leadership and promote a trend of grasping proper workstyle throughout the party. Party organizations at all levels must try to understand the present condition of our party workstyle by investigating and studying. They must formulate a program for achieving fundamental improvements. They must amplify a responsibility system in rectifying party style, each level holding on to the next level and every level having



responsibilities. Leading cadres at all levels must set an example and lead in rectifying the party style. From now on within an assigned area of responsibility if unhealthy tendencies are not rectified, if serious violations of discipline are not investigated and dealt with promptly, and if the party workstyle fails to improve as planned, the person in charge will be held responsible. Party committees at all levels must enhance guidance in the task of discipline inspection and allow the discipline inspection department to manifest fully its role and function in rectifying party workstyle. The discipline inspection department in turn should assist the party committee enthusiastically and spontaneously in this task.

In order to attain fundamental improvements in party workstyle expeditiously, the autonomous region party committee should rally the party organizations of all levels and all party members to take action now to implement seriously the resolutions of the party Central Committee and the State Council and the party Central Committee's guiding principle of "being resolute and being enduring" and its spirit of "less talk, more action." Let each individual and each leading organ take the initiative and contribute to the rectification of party workstyle solidly and soundly.

We believe firmly that under the proper leadership of the party Central Committee and with the series of important instructions from the party Central Committee on party workstyle, as long as the party organizations of all levels in the region are determined to rectify the party style, the autonomous region will be able to attain fundamental improvements in workstyle soon, and there will be more and greater developments in the material civilization and spiritual civilization constructions in the autonomous regions.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### PLA GROUP ARMY TRAINING REFORMS ANALYZED

Taipei CHUNG-KUNG YEN-CHIU [STUDIES ON CHINESE COMMUNISM] in Chinese Vol 20 No 6, 15 Jun 86 pp 79-87

[Article by Wang Hsi [3769 6897]: "Inquiry Into the Chinese Communists' Work in Reforming 'Group Army' Training"]

[Text] I. Foreword

For a long time the Communist army remained in the category of a single service arm, causing its cadres to lack experience in commanding combined arms operations and causing it to suffer a thoroughgoing defeat in the 1979 "punitive war against Vietnam." In 1982, during the "reform of the system," the CPC's "Central Military Commission" approved the formation in the communist army of "combined group armies" composed of all service arms. At the same time it designated the Beijing, Shenyang, and Nanjing "military regions" as experimental points for the "combined group army" (shortened to "group army") reform. In June 1985, after the Chinese communists announced the 1 million men "disarmament," the communist army began to formally disband the "field army" military-grade system of organization and to comprehensively form "group armies." At the end of the same year, He Qizong [0149 0366 1350], the communist army's "deputy chief of staff," publicly declared: The rebuilding into "group armies" has already been completed, and all work is being done according to the new relationships of subordination.

In this statement he also disclosed: With the "group army" readjustment of the establishment and system of organization, the improvement of weapons and equipment, and the raising of the degree of combined arms in the units, the "group armies" have shifted to training reform work in order to meet the needs of the situation after the rebuilding. However, because the time that the communist army had been rebuilt into "group armies" was extremely brief, the training systems are still not on track. Coupled with the problem that the communist army lacks experience in regularized training reform and its training for a long time had moved in low-level circles, and in particular that this is the communist army's first year after "group army" system reform, and is also the first year after the communist army changed its guiding ideology in "armed forces building," training, like all other work, faces many

new situations and many new problems. Therefore isn't it rather doubtful that the training reform of the communist army's "group armies" will be able to achieve their expected usefulness in improving the units' fighting power?

This article will make a step-by-step inquiry, in order to provide reference material, into the key points of the current "group army" training reform, including guiding ideology, system of organization, content, and measures.

## II. Changing the Guiding Ideology of Training

Since the Chinese communists usurped the mainland, the communist army's guiding ideology for training field units has been in line with the methods of so-called "brink of war training," stressing that training be based on "early fighting, large-scale fighting, and fighting a nuclear war," and maintaining that war was unavoidable. Therefore, the units' training, no matter whether in groupings, methods, content, as well as the setting up of sites, was makeshift and lacked long-term considerations. On the other hand, the communist army's weapons and equipment were backward and the units were limited to training with old equipment. In addition, the quality of the officers and men was inferior, and they lacked understanding of the forms, weapons, and equipment of modern warfare. Thus, it was hard for the guiding ideology for training to get breakthroughs.

In June 1965, at an "enlarged session of the Military Commission" of the CPC Central Committee, Deng Xiaoping declared: "Throughout the world the forces for peace are further developing, and for a fairly long period of time a large-scale world war will not occur." (1) Afterward, based on what Deng had said, the communist army set forth a new guiding ideology for training by completely breaking away from the "brink of war training" of the previous stage and switching to "regularized training" under peaceful conditions.

The communist army's new guiding ideology for training was explained by Wang Chengbin [3769 2052 2430], deputy commander of the Chinese communists' "Nanjing Military Region": "regular combat-readiness training" and also "future-style training." In the so-called "future-style training," the main stress is put on two aspects: "the first stress is put on fundamental, long-term usefulness topics of a law-like nature, which mainly means to master scientific and cultural, military theory, and military basic skills, putting them on the track of systematization and standardization; the second stress is put on 'trancendental-model' training in which training in tactical ideas, operational command, operational forms, and tactical measures is put against a background of a future war." (2)

The communist army is now gradually promoting this new guiding ideology for training in its "group armies." From training officers and men in cultural and specialized knowledge, doing research on military theory, promoting the split-level training system of "recruit training regiments" and cultivating talented persons who possess operational experience in combined arms command to training with military laser and electronic equipment, everything is being done and guided by the new ideology for training. However, in the initial stage of its implementation it has encountered major resistance.

### III. Reforming the Training System

#### A. Putting Into Practice Graded and Base Training

In the past training of the communist army's "field armies," for the most part the company was made the basic unit, and closed-style "small but complete" training was done. No matter whether in training arrangements, makeup of coaches, or provision of equipment and sites, the method of company "self-sufficiency" was adopted. But in the training system of a "group army" particular stress is put on graded and base training with this unit acting as a big training system.

The graded training system means, within the scope of a large unit, to carry out specialized work decision and coordination, dividing the "group army" into certain organic units, and stipulating that several organic units are specially responsible for training recruits while several other organic units are specially responsible for training backbone elements and "dual-purpose" talents. In general the division (brigade)-level units of a "group army" are divided into two types of regiment-level training establishments: the first type is the "recruit training regiment," which is tasked with the training of recruits and backbone elements within the scope of its own division (brigade; the second type is the "live soldier regiment," which is responsible, within the scope of its own division (brigade) for the training in "combined arms tactics" and for the training of "dual-purpose talents." In addition, it has been discovered that some of the communist army's "group armies" have organized "teams for training commanders in combined arms tactics," which are responsible, within the scope of the "group army," for training command talents who possess experience in "combined arms" operations.

In the so-called base training system, still within the scope of the entire "group army," a training coordination area (training base) that crosses service arm lines is set up. All the units of the "group army" are sent to the base, where they conduct live drills in "combined arms" coordination by all service arms. The method is to take the tactical training points originally set up by "field armies," and for on-site planning, training facilities, and equipment support to use them to set up bases in accordance with the requirements for "combined group army" training. To illustrate with an example: In 1985 a certain regiment of the Chinese communists' "Shenyang Military Region" took a training ground that was nearly 40 square li in size in the Yitong area of Jilin Province and rebuilt it into a "combined arms" training base where a "group army" could organize regiment joint training and battalion two-sided training. On 3 December of the same year, this "group army" for the first time organized infantry regiments to conduct a field position defense exercise under nuclear conditions. (3)

In addition, according to a XINHUA News Agency report of 22 April this year (1986), the communist army's first "combined arms tactics training center" was formally established in the "Nanjing Military Region." Of the training bases set up by "group armies," it is now a comprehensive training base on the biggest scale and with the newest equipment. It can display complex battlefield conditions, can simulate various actions of a hypothetical enemy army, and can organize units to carry out an air-ground integrated

operational exercise. All of the communist army's "group armies" send units there to train. These "centers" provide training in laser-simulated fighting. It is scheduled within several years to gradually set up training in which the "directing facilities are made electronic, the site is made into a battlefield, the target display is automated, and the organization functions are made varied."

The new training system of the communist army's "group armies," because its degree of combined arms is fairly high, the changes in training groupings are fairly large, the number of organization personnel is reduced, and the number of deputy positions in the unit (fendui) is reduced, brings many new problems to the units' training. For example: how to improve as fast as possible the commanders' capability for combined arms command; how, based on different establishments, to provide classified guidance to unit training; how to put scientific management into practice in the units; how to raise the level of regularized trainings, and so forth (4)--all these are problems in the new training system of "group armies" that urgently await solution.

#### B. Forming "Recruit Training Regiments"

To put the graded training system into practice, the communist army, within the "group armies" and other army units, has separately formed "recruit training regiments" (one "group army" usually has 3 to 5 "recruit training regiments) in order to change the irrational phenomenon, which has existed for a long time, of the communist army's ground units' operations and training system being combined into one whole.

Formerly, every year, after the Chinese communists' recruits had been placed in the units, the company training had to start with individual men, and year after year the veteran soldiers were mixed with the recruits at the "one-year level," preventing training from getting out of the "low-level cycle" situation. In recent years, the communist army has conducted experiments at selected points in which the recruits and veterans are "divided into groups and receive separate training." At the same time, the Beijing, Wuhan (former), and Kunming (former) "military regions," in accordance with the principle of "first training and then filling," have run "recruit training divisions" as an experiment. On this foundation, since 1985, the communist army has formed "recruit instruction regiments" in its ground units. In accordance with the principle of matching jobs to specialities, the new recruits who have just joined the army are given 4 months of concentrated training so that they have basic military knowledge --the infantry complete single-man training topics and the special troops complete solo operations of equipment--after which they fill in the units. Because the "recruit instruction regiment" is a new training system, it lacks ready-made training experiences. At present, in the practices of the "instruction regiments" there are still certain differences, which roughly are:

#### A. In Education and Training Facilities

1. They are given priority support in funds and equipment: Based on the idea of making training a "school," all the "group armies" of the communist army universally demand the "recruit instruction regiments" be given priority

consideration in training equipment, distribution of teaching materials, and use of materials. Moreover, starting on 20 December 1985, the "Military Training Department of the General Staff Department" of the communist army has given every "recruit instruction regiment" a training allowance of 10,000 yuan. It allots to each regiment over 3,200 pieces of training equipment such as physical education and technical training kits and target equipment. It distributes to each regiment 42 pieces of 4 kinds of audio-visual teaching aids, including 1 video recorder, 35 rolls of magnetic tape, 1 automatic slide projector, and 5 film projectors. (5)

2. Setting up additional training grounds and teaching and research sections of various types: For example, the "recruit instruction regiments" of a certain "group army" in the "Nanjing Military Region" have set up a network of training sites. The company has a drill training ground, an apparatus ground, and a handgrenade-throwing ground. The battalion has an obstacle course, a firing preparation range, and a technical teaching section. The regiment has training materials, a live-ammunition firing range, a tactical training ground, and an audio-visual teaching center. (6) A certain "group army" in the Chinese communists' Lanzhou Military Region" has made the following demands on its "recruit instruction regiments": The company must have a military studies section, a drill training ground, and a handgrenade-throwing ground. The battalion must have a technical teaching section, apparatus ground, obstacle course, and firing preparation range. The regiment must have a materials section, tactical teaching section, service arm teaching section, audio-visual teaching center, live-ammunition firing range, and tactical training ground. (7)

#### B. In Deployment of Instructors

1. Arrangements for filling vacancies in cadre and backbone element posts in "recruit instruction regiments": Focusing on the fact that in the "streamlining and reorganization" of the communist army, there is a widespread under-establishment of basic-level cadres, the communist army's "group armies" require that priority be given to having cadres and backbone elements of army schools and training units fill posts in "recruit instruction regiments," and also transfer cadres and backbone elements of other units within the scope of the "group army" to fill posts in the "recruit instruction regiments." Take, for example, the "recruit instruction regiments" formed by a certain "group army" in the Chinese communists' "Jinan Military Region." In the army, 4 battalion headquarters, 1 division training unit headquarters, 2 artillery transport training teams, and 22 companies were transferred, in accordance with matching jobs to their specialities, to the "recruit instruction regiments." At the same time, within the scope of the "group army," 103 specialized cadres were transferred to posts in "recruit instruction regiments" that matched their specialities, and more than 770 specialized coaching team leaders were selected to fill posts in the regiments. (8)

2. Concentrated use of instructors: A "recruit instruction regiment" concentrated instructors, who separately had been in the battalions and companies and in the regiment's headquarters, political and logistics organizations, into various categories of teaching and research teams, which



undertake the task of teaching and training recruits in the relevant categories. For example the "instruction regiments" of a certain "group army" in the Lanzhou Military Region" have regrouped their personnel in headquarters, political and logistics organizations into seven teams: training, training support, administration and management, propaganda and education, political work, finance and military supplies, and materiel support. (9) The "instruction regiments" of a certain "group army" in the "Shenyang Military Region," concentrated and made use of instructors who had been assigned to battalions, and in the regiment's "headquarters" they formed four teams: teaching materials, teaching research, teaching support, and administration and management. In a regiment's "political office," they formed a political work teaching and research team. (10) In the "instruction regiments" of a certain "group army" of the "Beijing Military Region," in a regiment's "headquarters" a teaching materials team, an administration and management team, and a teaching support team were formed. In a regiment's "political office," a political work team and a political education team were formed. In a regiment's "logistics office," a life team, a technical team, and a medical support team were formed. (11)

### C. In Training Methods

1. Compiling and printing the "Recruit Training Handbook" and recruit training textbooks: With the "Outline for Recruit Training in Army Instruction Regiment" issued by the communist army's "General Staff Department" as their basis, the "recruit instruction regiments" of the communist army's "group armies" have compiled and printed the "Recruit Training Handbook," one copy of which has been given to every recruit to be the basic teaching material for troop training. The "Handbook's" content is divided into two sets. The first set is the common training part; the second set is the specialized training part, composed of specialized subhandbooks for seven service arms. In addition, it has also been discovered that a certain "group army" in the Chinese communists' "Beijing Military Region," based on the "Outline for Recruit Training in Army Instruction Regiments," called its organization cadres together and had them write, in a complete set for recent training, a common topic training textbook, an infantry technical and tactical training textbook, and various other training textbooks, which have been distributed to the "recruit instruction regiments" for trial implementation. (12)

2. Forming "instruction regiment coordination centers": In December of last year (1985), an "instruction regiment coordination center" organization was discovered, for the first time, in a certain "group army" of the "Shenyang Military Region." It is composed of 8 cadres chosen from 6 professional departments of the "group army." The army's chief of staff is the "coordination center director." Each division is "divided into "coordination areas," and a "coordination section" is set up in each regiment. It is mainly responsible for making up connections, exchanging and transmitting relevant information, initiating coordination activities in teaching and training, and coordinating the forces of various quarters to support the "instruction regiments."

3. Setting up a "recruit registration form" system: In 1985, a certain "group army" in the "Beijing Military Region" set up in its "recruit



instruction regiments" a "recruit registration forms" system, the purpose of which is to promote the recruits' enthusiasm for training and to provide a basis for the units to make rational use of recruits. The form has common topic and political education columns, so as to keep track of the ideological, training, and work-style discipline marks of a recruit during his training period in an "instruction regiment." (13)

4. Audio-visual teaching: All the "recruit instruction regiments" of the communist army's "group armies" have an audio-visual teaching room, in which are installed such audio-visual equipment as closed-circuit television, film projector, and slide projector, providing the instruction regiment with a place for instructing and training recruits in a concentrated manner. It is reported that the "recruit instruction regiments" of a certain "group army" in the "Lanzhou Military Region" has a large audio-visual teaching room, which can accommodate 500 lecture attendees. (14)

#### D. In Training Content

The training content includes: operation and live ammunition firing of light weapons (including rifle, submachinegun, machinegun, rocket launcher, and 82mm mortar), march-pasts, military gymnastics and boxing, apparatus operation, handgrenade throwing, and crossing the 100-meter obstacle course.

#### E. In Mess Arrangements

The communist army's "General Logistics Department" recently stipulated that, during their training period in the "recruit instruction regiments," all recruits would receive "army duty two-category mess" standard allowances. In the lowest category area, the standard mess allowance for one recruit per day was raised from the former 1.15 yuan to 1.28 yuan. In the highest category area, the standard mess allowance for one recruit per day was raised from the former 1.8 yuan to 1.93 yuan. (15)

Although the communist army has made the above-mentioned reforms in its recruit training, on 25 January of this year (1986), a commentator's article entitled "Run Instruction Regiments Well," in JIEFANGJUN BAO pointed out: "There is now a very big distance between the standards demanded of an instruction regiment and the lack of experience that exists in reality in an instruction regiment." (16) The article showed that the "recruit instruction regiments" of the communist army's "group armies" are facing multilayered difficult problems, the main ones being:

1. Lack of qualified teachers: In their establishment there is a shortage of full-time instructors, the number of instructors is insufficient, and the instructors lack teaching experience, all of which adversely affects recruit training quality. (17)

2. Equipment is inadequate: there is no way for the equipment to satisfy practical needs.

3. Minds are closed: People think: "An instruction regiment is only a temporary unit. After several months the recruits will part company with it,

and they can be dealt with as in the past. It will not be too late to straighten them out when they are assigned to units." (18) Other people think: "An instruction regiment is only a unit that labors in the interest of others, and it is all right for it to go through the motions in a perfunctory manner." (19)

4. The training is hard to carry out: After the leaders of a certain "group army" in the Chinese communists' "Shenyang Military Region" went to the "recruit instruction regiments," they discovered: the "small but complete" training method is still being followed. The recruit companies have many noncombatant duties, the cadres take part in many higher-level activities, and the instructors do a lot of routine work. Thus, it is hard to implement the training plan. (20)

#### IV. Putting "Regularized Training" Into Practice

To implement the Chinese communists' army-building policy of "regularization," the communist army's guiding ideology for training has switched from the "brink of war-style training" of the past to "future-style training." The "group armies" of the communist army has switched from the "brink of war-style training" of the past to "future-style training." The "group armies" of the communist army are now seeking a set of "regularized" training content to be the standard for "regularized" training in the future.

##### A. Training Cadres Who Have Experience in Combined Arms Management and Command

Paying attention to the specific characteristic of an "army group," namely, that it has a fairly-high degree of combined arms, its previous training of cadres in a single service arm is elevated to combined arms training in many service arms. Also, from top to bottom, this training is being done level by level. Its content is, as the "Training Outline for Cadres of Combined Group Armies," which was written by a certain "group army" in the communist army, pointed out: The content of combined arms training for "group army" cadres is divided into two sets: The first set is the management of combined arms forces. Courses are offered in the scientific foundation of leadership, armed forces pedagogy, and armed forces management science so as to improve the capability of cadres at all levels for the management of combined arms forces and the organization of their training. The second set is command of operations by combined arms forces, in which prominence is given to modern scientific and technical knowledge, modern battle example studies, command automation, and the use of all service arms in coordination during battle.

Among them, with regard to training "group army" cadres in the management of combined arms forces, from 1 to 9 November 1985, a certain "combined arms army" of the Chinese communists' "Guangzhou Military Region" ran a "concentrated class in modern management science. The principal military officers at four levels--army, division, brigade, and regiment--attended the class, which focused on improving the strategic vision, systems concept, comprehensive capability, and trail-blazing spirit of leading cadres. At the same time, applying the principles of modern leadership science, the class emphasized the study of three problems: "the macro control and adjustment of

all work in the units, the putting into practice of unity and coherence in leadership and the casting aside of the work method of exceeding one's functions and meddling in others' affairs, and the putting into practice of management by objective to improve training results and work results." (21)

With regard to training "group army" cadres in the command of combined arms operations, the communist army's "General Staff Department" in May, September, and October of last year (1985) sent three separate batches of cadres from operational units (mainly cadres in "group armies" at the division and regiment level) to the communist army's Armored Corps College, Air Force College, and Artillery College for training, in order to develop commanders who possessed experience in coordinated operations that cut across service arm lines. Among those sent to the communist army's Air Force College were 47 cadres at the Army's division and regiment level. They attended the college's first "army combined arms class," which was 3 months long. The content of their studies included basic Air Force knowledge, the understanding of the Air Force's groupings and its campaigns and tactics, the aerial observation at different altitudes of ground battlefields, the special-topic study of command of Air Force and Army-coordinated operations, the on-site viewing of training activities by Air Force units, and so forth. (22)

Besides giving cadres training in the management and operations of combined arms forces, the communist army's "group armies" at the same time stipulated that different types of cadres must be given guidance of different classifications, and that the focus for cadres who have recently graduated from academies and colleges must be put on retraining and application, in order to raise their level of management and of organization and command. For cadres who have worked in the units for a long time, the focus of training must be on the study of military theory and scientific and cultural knowledge.

#### B. Reform of Fendui Training Content

Because the "group armies" are putting the recruit training system into practice, and also giving prominence to the operational training of combined armed forces, in the present stage of the training of rank-and-file soldiers in the "group armies," the training content has been changed to three stages: The first stage is the functional training of rank-and-file soldiers, with fendui special tactics and combined arms tactical movements made primary. In addition, in the training of squad leaders, squad leader organization and command, management, and teaching methods are made primary. The final stage is the training of "dual-purpose" talents, in which there is study of interchangeable army-locality skills or civilian skills. With regard to the second stage of specialized and combined arms training of fendui composed of rank-and-file soldiers, the communist army's "General Staff Department" assigned a certain "group army" in the "Shenyang Military Region," based on the circumstances that recruit training and the units' overall training were separated, to reform fendui training. In September 1985, the communist army held an "all-army demonstration meeting on reform of fendui training content," which decided, on the basis of the experimental point results, to formulate a new fendui training outline and distribute it to the units.

This experimental point reform, with tactical training as its axis, combines the content of common topics and technical tactical topics. It changes the fendui training of former years, which drilled in single-man and common topics, into training in squad tactics as soon as training begins. It takes the training content for infantry squads (teams), which was formerly dispersed in common and technical topics, and centralizes it in tactical topics, and also increases the proportion of training at company level and higher. Beginning with squad (team) tactics, it makes basic methods of and basic movements in coordinator a content in which there must be training.

The characteristics of the new content in fendui training is that the number of topics offered is greatly reduced compared to the number in the past, as some obsolete and duplicative has been cut out. At the same time, there have been added new content needed during operations, such as methods of indicating targets to the air arm and artillery, battle movements and formation in coordination with tanks, field survival, and obstacle-surmounting actions under the conditions of modern warfare.

### C. Study of Military Theory

For a long time there has existed in the communist army the idea that "doing work is the 'hard' target" and doing academic research is the 'soft' target," which put research on strategic and tactical theory into a perplexed state. Since the "group armies" of the communist army were formed, in order to adapt to changes in establishment and equipment and to the needs of future operations, the study of military theory has been made a key point in training. Through forms such as lectures, academic exchange meetings, organization of study teams, and concentrated training, they will improve the command of "group armies" and raise the military science level of staff personnel. The current situation in the Chinese communists' "Shenyang Military Region" and "Beijing Military Region" provides an explanation of this, as follows:

"Shenyang Military Region": A "party committee meeting" has decided that all army- and division-level units will hold lectures on various kinds of new knowledge, and will invite experts and scholars of local institutions of higher education and of local scientific and technological departments to deliver the lectures. (24) One of its "group armies" will set up an "academic information study team," which, through the professional departments of training, reconnaissance, signal, arms, artillery, and engineering and through all divisions and regiments, will form an information network. The network will get the newest information about foreign armies, putting stress on studying and drawing lessons from the experience of foreign armies in organizing, commanding, and supporting "combined group armies." The "training department" of the "group army" also requires that division and regiment cadres who take concentrated training in "combined arms" tactics write 27 academic articles. The army commander and deputy commander, chief of staff, are required to personally write academic papers. The armored corps system is also required to hold special-topic academic and exchange meetings. The army's "headquarters" has at the same time announced an academic research award system. (25)

"Beijing Military Region": A certain "group army" has drawn out cadres who possess an academic level to form a "study and demonstration guidance group." The army and division organizations in succession have set up study and demonstration organizations, which carry out studies and demonstration of total operational capability operation and support capability, and operational logistics support capability of the "group army" and the divisions of all service arms. (26) In addition, another "group army" of this "military region" in the first part of December 1985 organized staff personnel to conduct a 10-day session of "combined arms" campaign theory concentrated training, at which the army's senior officer personally taught classes. After the concentrated training was finished, examinations were given. (27)

Besides getting cadres to study military theory, at the same time it was also discovered that, when a certain "group army" of the communist army was giving "trancendental-model" training to its rank-and-file soldiers, it arranged lectures for them in which it introduced modern science and technology and their application to military affairs, as well as modern weapons and the trends in their development, patterns in future combat, and operational forms and tactical measures. (28)

With regard to the new set of training reform content set forth by the communist army's "group armies," because the training ideas of the officers and men taking the training are still limited by the influence of the old set, they have rejected the new training content and good effects have not been produced. Furthermore, because the new training content was hastily put together, much of it lacked practicality. The communist army's JIEFANGJUN BAO admitted: "The purpose of many training reform projects is only to satisfy emergency needs." (29) Thus, the communist army's "Campaign Office of the Military Training Department in the General Staff Department" came up with a research report on the actual results of the communist army's study of military theory, which pointed out:

"Today our research is quite a distance from the demands of the times. Much of the research still stops at historical descriptions and analysis of immediate problems, and does not explore the military problems 20 years from now."

"Traditional, closed-type research modes restrict our field of vision, and outmoded academic concepts still confine the thinking of many of our comrades, causing our reactions to the new technological revolution to be slow."

Worth calling attention to is that, because for a long time we have lived and worked in an old pattern, the thinking of some comrades has become fixed. In addition, there is a lack of research on the laws of development. The idea of keeping the future in mind is still not yet established, and there is a lack of mental preparation for change. (30)

Thus it can be seen that the communist army's research in military theory is a case of "more summing up of the past and less studying of the future," which impedes the pace of its development of military theory. (31)

## V. Replacing Training Facilities

To elevate the units' fighting power, the communist army's "group armies" are vigorously preparing to establish command automation systems, and to apply the electronic computer to artillery command selection of the optimum operational plan, tactical two-sided simulations, and the drafting of battle dispatches. At the same time, because during the process of reorganization the communist army's "group armies" have reduced the number of organization cadres at all levels, under the circumstances of a widespread shortage of manpower, all the "group armies" of the communist army have repeatedly pursued the automation of training and management in the armed forces, applying the electronic computer to many aspects, such as command and staff personnel, training administration and management, and logistics support.

However, in the pursuit of automation by the communist army's "group armies," they first of all encountered the contradiction that they were short of talented persons. Therefore, the communist army's "group armies" made training in a "group army's" automation system a key project in training reform. Within the scope of an army it selected a batch of young cadres who had basic knowledge, and adopted the forms for them of joining a class in the middle of a course, engaging in advanced studies, taking the place of others in a course, and auditing courses. It sent them to armed forces or local colleges and schools as well as interrelated scientific research units for directed training in order to satisfy the need for talented persons. For example, in a certain "group army" of the communist army, for nearly 100 cadres of the army and its division, arrangements for their advanced studies have been decided through consultation. They will study 10 specialities, including electronic computer, semiconductors, and radio. (32)

With regard to practical application in training, the communist army's "group armies" have set up "training automation study groups," which, from the organizations to the fendui, train some technical talents to master automated training. During live exercises, they operate computers to assist in the umpiring; with regard to the degree of superiority or inferiority of the two sides in troop deployment and application of tactics, they make qualitative and quantitative analyses. (33)

With regard to training in logistics automation, the communist army's "group armies" have organized the wartime service staff, including the directors and assistant directors of the ordnance, transport, military supplies, medical, and financial departments, as well as warehouse managers, to apply the microcomputer, under field conditions, to operations command, peacetime and wartime warehouse management, and the handing out of and daily work on rations, POL, weapons, ammunition, materiel, and equipment. It also holds at irregular intervals "tournaments" of "army provisions officers" in the logistics system. (34)

With regard to automation of training management, a certain "group army" of the communist army, with the help of the Chinese communists' "National Defense Science and Technology University," has developed an automated training management system. It stores, revises, and readjusts training plans. It rapidly draws up and prints out statistical reports and tables in various



plans, and rapidly retrieves training data. In using it, a regiment must timely enter into the computer the situation stipulated by the higher level; its battalions pool reports on their situations every week, and its companies register their situations every day. If one inquires about the overall training situation in a regiment, it only takes 6 minutes to get an answer. (35)

Although the electronic computer has been extensively popularized in the communist army's "group armies," the standard design of the computer and its practical application are technical and difficult, and with the inferior quality of the communist army, when using the computer, there is one difficulty after another. Recently, the "headquarters" of a certain "group army" in the Chinese communists' "Nanjing Military Region," in the summary of a discussion, clearly pointed out: It is much more difficult to train staff personnel to use the microcomputer than it was in the past to train a "six ables" staff officer. Therefore, if training is not enhanced, it will be very hard to meet the demands imposed by change. (36) This shows that the work of popularizing the use of the electronic computer in the communist army's "group armies" is not going smoothly. According to a report, in a considerable number of units, the electronic computer only plays the role of an abacus, telephone, and typewriter. Units in which the situation is a little better only use it for storage and retrieval of simple data. (37) Also, because of this, when a certain "group army" of the communist army sent antiaircraft gun microcomputers to its units, no one understood how to use this "dry ration." (38)

Next, to save expenditures on training costs, the communist army's "group armies," in order to avoid the waste caused by the shortening of the replacement time of modern weapons and equipment, in which every piece of new equipment when put into batch production makes the successive generations of weapons obsolete, makes simulation training equipment an important means of training in "group armies."

Among the new year's training projects of the communist army's "group armies" many topics involve laser and electronic simulation training equipment. For example, a certain "group army" of the Chinese communists' "Shenyang Military Region" this year has "used laser simulation training equipment in organizing multiservice arms tactical two-sided training exercises." (39) Therefore, the communist army's "group armies" have begun to set up "simulation training centers," inside which are simulation display symbols for units from platoons to regiments as well as various special fencible of the Red and Blue forces. In the commanders' training room, a series of actual battle coordination situations, such as explosions, dispatching of units, and electronic jamming, can be displayed. The directing room has a computer, a slide projector, and burst point displayer. Through the synchronization by sound and pictures of various battlefield situations, appropriate assessments of scores are made. In addition, the rifle, artillery, tank, and antitank missile laser and electronic simulation training equipment recently developed by the communist army are widely applied in live training in the "group armies."

At present the funds received by the "group armies" of the communist army are limited, and there is universally an insufficient deployment of simulation



training equipment. Only a small number of units can use this equipment in training. In the "group armies" there is a shortage of maintenance personnel for the laser and electronic simulation training equipment. Once the equipment is damaged it can only be discarded as useless. All this makes it hard for laser and electronic simulation training equipment to get its expected effect.

## VI. Concluding Words

After the Chinese communist army finishes its "reform of the system" and its "streamlining and reorganization," the "group army" will begin to become the main force in the Chinese communists' Army. Because the Army was cut on a large scale during the "streamlining," the communist army must use the "quality" of the "group army" to make up for the reduction of the "quantity" of the armed forces. In this the most important thing is to make training reforms in the "group armies," that is, by "reforms" find ways out and think of methods.

The idea behind the training reforms in the communist army's "group armies" is the so-called "combination of indigenous and foreign methods," that is, carrying on the traditional "indigenous Eighth Route Army" training methods, and combining them with the advanced experiences of foreign countries to "regularize training." However, just as expected, once this training reform began it encountered failures. The first one was that the training ideas of the cadres and the rank-and-file soldiers were confined to the old set of methods. Next, problems of funds, equipment, and qualified instructors followed on each other's heels. The training reform in the "group armies" landed in a "dilemma," namely, "it did not dare remain in the old set of methods, and it did not dare go for the new set."

From now on, the communist army is bound to slow the pace of its training reform in the "group armies" and be more cautious in its training reform work. However, how the communist army will overcome the abovementioned "longstanding, big, and difficult" problems one by one is a question, and by no means can it be resolved within a short time.

## NOTES

- (1) The Chinese communists' JIEFANGJUN BAO [LIBERATION ARMY DAILY--LAD], 11 June 1985, page 1, "Armed Forces Reduce Number of Personnel by 1 Million."
- (2) LAD, 9 November 1985, page 2, "Replace Concepts, Do Training Work Well."
- (3) LAD, 25 December 1985, page 2, "Establish Combined Arms Training Bases, Strengthen Combined Arms Tactical Training."
- (4) LAD, 1 October 1985, page 1 "Make Strategic Decisions Early, Make Preparations Early, Get Started Early."
- (5) LAD, 26 October 1986, page 1, "Give Priority in Funds and Equipment to the Support of Instruction Regiments."

- (6) LAD, 15 February 1986, page 2, "Establish the Concept of Taking the Overall Situation Into Account, Get a Good Grip on Recruit Training."
- (7) LAD, 18 November 1985, page 1, "Instruction Regiments Handled in Accordance With School Requirements."
- (8) LAD, 19 November, 1985, page 2, "A Certain Group Army Forms Instruction Regiments in an Effort to Achieve Overall Excellence."
- (9) LAD, 28 January 1986, page 1, "A Certain Instruction Regiment of the Lanzhou Military Region Sets Up School-Type System."
- (10) LAD, 27 December 1985, page 2, "Establish Regular Teaching Procedures."
- (11) LAD, 30 January 1986, page 1, "Instruction Regiment of a Certain Group Army Vigorously But Carefully Reforms Training."
- (12) Ibid (11)
- (13) LAD, 9 January 1986, page 3, "Set Up Recruit Registration Form System."
- (14) Ibid (9)
- (15) LAD, 17 January 1986, page 1, "Mess Standards in Recruit Training Period Raised."
- (16) LAD, 25 January 1986, page 1, "Handle Instruction Regiments Well."
- (17) LAD, 15 January 1986, page 1, "A Group Army Sets Up Instruction Regiment Coordination Center."
- (18) LAD, 17 January 1986, page 2, "An Instruction Regiment Educates Fighters To Take a Good First Step."
- (19) LAD, 30 January 1986, page 2, "Concepts Must Be Replaced."
- (20) LAD, 18 February 1986, page 1, "Insure That Instruction Regiments Make Teaching the Center."
- (21) LAD, 29 November 1986, page 1, "Study Leadership Science, Achieve Scientific Leadership."
- (22) LAD, 26 November 1985, page 1, "Students of Air Force College's First Army Combined Arms Class Graduate."
- (23) LAD, 21 October 1985, page 2, "An Army Sets Forth New Fendui Training System."
- (24) Chinese communists' XINHUA News Agency 19 August 1986 dispatch
- (25) LAD, 26 October 1984, page 2, "Five Pieces of Information From a Group

Army's Experimental Point."

(26) LAD, 20 October 1985, page 1, "Demonstrations of Operational Capability, Research on Campaign Actions."

(27) LAD, 6 January 1985, page 2, "A Group Army Organizes Staff Officers To Study Combined Arms Campaign Theory."

(28) LAD, 28 December 1985, page 1, "Get A Good Grip on Training Fighters and Backbone Elements in Corps."

(29) LAD, 2 December 1985, page 1, "Adapt to Strategic Changes, Come Up With New Methodical Ways of Training."

(30) Ibid (30)

(31) LAD, 18 February 1986, page 1, "Open Up the Vision of Troop Training."

(32) LAD, 12 October 1984, page 2, "First Piece of Information About a Combined Group Army's Experimental Point."

(33) LAD, 5 October 1985, page 1, "A Gratifying Step Toward Modernization of Means of Training."

(34) LAD, 5 December 1985, page 2, "Provisions Officers in Army Hold Computer Tournament."

(35) LAD, 23 August 1985, page 1, "An Army Forms an Automated System for Training Management."

(36) LAD, 29 October 1985.

(37) LAD, 23 August 1985, page 1, "Finding a Way Out By Adopting New Techniques."

(38) Ibid (32)

(39) LAD, 4 January 1986, page 1, "Act According to One's Capability, Guarantee Key Points."

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